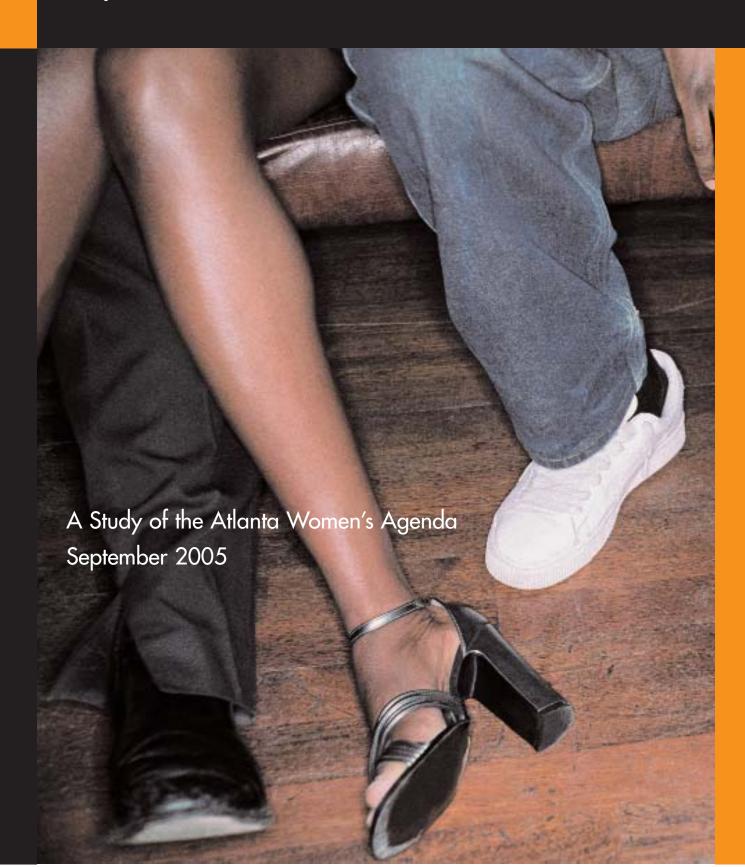
Hidden in Plain View:

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A Study of the Atlanta Women's Agenda September 2005

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Special Thanks

The funding for this study was made possible through the generosity of the United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta, with special thanks to Chris Allers and Diane McCants, and to partners at Alston & Bird, particularly Mike Petrik who, when he heard that children were being prostituted in Atlanta, made a personal commitment to do whatever it would take to bring this to the community's attention.

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Acknowledgements

Many individuals and agencies contributed to the research in this report. Special acknowledgement is given to the following people for sharing their information and experiences.

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Johns get connected to pimps via the Internet, fly in to have sex with a young girl or boy waiting in a hotel or apartment, then fly home for dinner. It's easier to fly to Atlanta than to Bangkok.

by Mickey Goodman, "You Ain't Been Down My Street", Atlanta Magazine, July, 2005

Introduction

The prostitution of children is usually thought of as a third world problem, along with bad water and endemic diseases, but this abomination takes place all over the United States. In 2001, a groundbreaking study by Estes & Weiner revealed that between 200,000 and 300,000 children are believed to be at-risk for sexual exploitation in the United States. The sexual exploitation of children has become the third-largest moneymaker for organized crime, right behind guns and drugs. Atlanta is not exempt; in fact, it has been identified as a hub for this appalling trade.¹

Atlanta, being a convention and sports event center, has a thriving "adult entertainment" industry: strip clubs, lingerie and sex shops, escort services, massage parlors. At the same time, Atlanta generates its own lost battalions of emotionally and physically abandoned children and is a magnet for such children from outlying areas. These children are vulnerable to the pimps and their recruiters, but the pimp would have no interest in the children if there were no demand.

Commercial sexual exploitation of children occurs in many forms, including pornography, prostitution, sex tourism, and trafficking. Although boys are also victims of commercial sexual exploitation, this study focuses on girls since they are more likely to be controlled by pimps and trafficked across state lines and international borders. In Atlanta the most prevalent form of commercial sexual exploitation of girls appears to be prostitution. This is not to say that other forms of commercial sexual exploitation do not occur. However, due to the underground nature of this exploitation, many girls remain hidden behind closed doors in escort services, massage parlors, dance clubs and other "legal" establishments (Friedman, 2005). Advances in technology, such as the Internet, pagers and cell phones, also allow these activities to remain largely undetected. The majority of data collected for this study is on commercial sexual exploitation of girls through prostitution-related activities.

Many believe prostitution is a "victimless crime" because they think prostitutes are willing participants. Whether this is true of adult prostitutes is not a question directly addressed in this report. For girls under the age of majority, some as young as 10 and 11, it is certainly not true. Young girls are psychologically manipulated and physically coerced by adults into an "occupation" that is both illegal and dangerous. These girls must live with long-term physical, emotional and psychological consequences; they are victimized over and over again. The victimization extends into the next generation because they are girls, and they have babies.

The fact is under-age prostitutes are almost always controlled by a pimp. Girls who are exploited are often caught in a cycle of violence, turning a bad situation into a worse one. Decades of research have shown that most adult prostitutes have an extensive background of sexual abuse, beginning in childhood. Pimps have an uncanny ability to identify and exploit the needs of girls with such backgrounds.

Finally, prostitution is often viewed as a nuisance crime. However, the community suffers when children are sexually exploited. We lose the positive contributions that these girls could otherwise be making. The community also bears the cost of criminalizing, sheltering, rehabilitating and reintegrating these children back into the community. Since these girls often bear children while they are very young, the community also bears the cost of their children, who are often born premature and often suffer not only from permanent disabilities but also from the chaos of their mothers' lives.

This report is presented to the Mayor of Atlanta in response to heightened awareness and concern about the commercial sexual exploitation of children, the commercial sex industry (including formal and informal prostitution), and trafficking of young women and girls into Atlanta for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This report addresses the commercial sexual exploitation of girls by:

- Providing analysis of the populations at risk and trends across the city;
- Exploring the demographic and geographic characteristics of the girls being commercially sexually exploited;
- Mapping the geographic distribution of commercial sex "hot spots";
- Describing the social and health services provided to sexually exploited girls;
- Describing the statutory response to the sexual exploitation of girls.

Methodology

Data collection took place over a four-month period from March through June 2005. Several methods were used in an effort to triangulate the data. Some of these methods were successful; others were not.

Case File Reviews

Thirty-five Fulton County Juvenile case files were reviewed at the Fulton Juvenile Court. Cases were identified with the assistance of the Center to End Abuse and Sexual Exploitation (CEASE). To examine differences in trends over time, ten cases were selected from 2002, 2003 and 2004 and five cases were selected pre-2002. Cases were systematically examined for risk factors, methods of recruitment, types of commercial sexual exploitation, consequences of exploitation, law enforcement and judicial response, human service response and pathways out.

Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews gather in-depth information about a topic of interest from knowledgeable sources using a semi-structured interview guide. Thirteen key informant interviews were held with law enforcement and human service agencies. Information was gathered on the agency's scope of service, types of commercial sexual exploitation of girls, geographic distribution of commercial sexual exploitation, types of recruiters, recruitment techniques, and areas of recruitment.

Case studies

A case study is a qualitative method purposefully used to gain more in-depth knowledge of how girls enter and exit prostitution, as well as their experiences with statutory and social service agencies. Fifteen in-depth case studies were developed from juvenile case files and key informant interviews. Case files have been stripped of identifiers to protect the confidentiality of the girls.

Field Observations

Field observations were conducted with Covenant House Georgia and the Child Exploitation Unit and the Vice Unit of the Atlanta Police Department. Covenant House Georgia outreach team covers DeKalb and Fulton Counties. Sites observed included Bankhead Highway, Metropolitan Parkway, Memorial Drive, Moreland Avenue, Stone Mountain, and Decatur Road. Sites observed within the Atlanta Police Department zones included Underground Atlanta, Moreland Avenue at I-20, Metropolitan Parkway, Cleveland Avenue, Piedmont Road, and the Bluffs.

Service Provider Surveys

A survey instrument was developed and administered to human service and law enforcement agencies that work with at-risk girls and girls who have been victims of sexual exploitation. The survey was administered to collect data on the type of services offered and utilized, geographic coverage of these services, and the age and ethnicity of girls who utilize services. At least 175 service providers were identified in the Metro-Atlanta area through an exhaustive search.

Although this study focuses on the city of Atlanta, providers outside of the city were not excluded. Several directories were used to compile the human services agency list including The Child Sexual Exploitation Resource Directory 2003-2004 Edition, the United Way Help Book 2002, and the Rescue and Restore agency list. Juvenile justice agency and law enforcement official addresses were compiled using internet searches. Follow-up phone calls were made to agencies a minimum of three times. A total of 32 surveys were returned. Of these, 12 were returned with an indication that the survey was not applicable to the type of services and/or clientele they served.

Spatial Mapping

Spatial mapping was done using Atlanta Police Department crime data for 2002, 2003, and 2004. Included in the data set were adult and juvenile prostitution arrests, prostitution related 911* calls for service (incident reports), and juvenile truancy and runaways arrests. Prostitution arrests were gender specific (female). Incident reports and juvenile arrests for truancy and runaway offences were not.

An exhaustive effort was made to identify hotels, MARTA stations, public schools, and legal adult sex venues, including strip clubs, lingerie modeling establishments, and adult sex shops on the maps. Geographic Information Survey (GIS) software was used to analyze crime data spatially in relation to public schools, MARTA stations, Atlanta Underground and area malls, hotels and legal adult sex venues. Two types of maps were created, both citywide and zone specific.

Limitations

Several limitations to the methods used in this study affected the data collected. Gaining access to the population of interest was constrained by time limitations and the hidden nature of this population. Only one girl was identified though a human service agency and agreed to be interviewed. All other attempts to interview girls were blocked by human service agencies to protect their clients' confidentiality.

A second limitation was the small return of surveys. There were many reasons for this. First, due to the sensitive nature of commercial sexual exploitation, many agencies may fear the legal consequences of discussing these areas. Second, many agencies, due to budget constraints and personnel shortages, have difficulty finishing their cases, let alone reporting on them. Third, for many agencies commercial sexual exploitation does not fit within the scope of their services; therefore, they do not screen or track their clients for this type of abuse. In light of the lack of information from agencies, it is impossible to estimate the number of potential cases of commercial sexual exploitation in the city of Atlanta with any degree of certainty. Recommendations regarding other mechanisms for gaining this type of information from service agencies are discussed elsewhere.

Language

Language plays a very important role in framing the discussion around the commercial sexual exploitation of girls. Girls are often described as "child prostitutes." Nikki Marr, former DeKalb County Juvenile Court Judge, argues that calling this crime "prostitution" is a misnomer. While some may argue that prostitution is a choice for adult women; that is not the case here. Nowhere in the United States can under-age girls consent to prostitution. For the purpose of this study, the following definitions have been applied:

- Child sexual exploitation (CSE) will be defined as practices by which a person, usually an adult, achieves sexual gratification, financial gain or advancement through the abuse or exploitation of a child's sexuality by abrogating that child's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental well-being, (i.e. trafficking, prostitution, pornography, stripping, battering, incest, rape) (Estes & Weiner, 2001).
- Commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) is defined as sexual exploitation primarily or
 entirely for financial or other economic reason. The economic exchanges involved may be either
 monetary or non-monetary but, in every case, involving maximum benefit to the exploiter and an
 abrogation of the basic human rights, dignity, autonomy, physical and mental well-being of the
 children involved. (Estes & Weiner, 2001)

Finally, men who buy sex from prostitutes have been traditionally called *johns*, *tricks*, and *dates*. These are sanitized terms. Men who buy sex with minors, knowingly or otherwise, are child abusers and are also committing the crime of rape. For the purpose of this study, men who solicit sex from minors will be called *panderers*, according to the legal definition, unless informants have identified them by another term.²

Case Studies

Fifteen case studies of girls who were identified as victims of commercial sexual exploitation were developed based on interviews and case file reviews. The following five case studies demonstrate the risk factors that make girls vulnerable to CSEC, as well as the effects of CSEC in these girls' lives. Finally, these case studies show the successes and failures of law enforcement and human services agencies in responding to these girls, their families, and their exploiters. See Appendix A for more case studies.

Anna -

17-year-old African American

Anna was 12 years old when her friend "hooked her up" with "Derrick," who said he was 16. Anna began sneaking out of her house to meet him. Anna's mother found out and called the police. A police report on him revealed that he had given a false name and lied about his age. Derrick was arrested on a charge unrelated to his meetings with Anna, but when he got out of jail, he came to Anna's house. He took Anna to a friend's house and started beating her. He said he was going to kill her. Then he took out a gun, but his friend said, "No, don't kill her. We can make a lot of money." They took her into a room and tied her up. Anna related how they would come into the room everyday and tell her how they were going to turn her out and tell her who to sleep with and that if she went home, they would kill her and her family. She was held captive by them for two weeks.

They turned her over to a man named Vegas, a pimp, and told her to sleep with him. He liked her and said he was going to take her with him. According to Anna, "He was going to take me out of town to Florida." For two weeks, this pimp kept Anna at his house with his wife and children. She was kept in a bedroom with burglar bars on the windows. Anna said, "He did normal things. He took me to the park with his kids. He took me to the mall. He paid his bills. He talked to me. I didn't talk to him; he answered for me, 'The answer is yes.'"

According to Anna, "He kept me brainwashed. He played with my head. He made reality fake. He said, 'You will see yourself for a dream. If you find a man who promises you a dream, you will fall for him and do what he says.' He messed with my head. He did anything to make me submissive, and because I wasn't submissive, he beat me. He beat me everyday. I didn't really go to sleep." Vegas would get up and go to church with his children. He left Anna with his wife, and she would tell Anna, "It's not as bad as you think. You just have to do what you are told. But if you try to leave, he will find you and kill you and your whole family."

Anna's family was looking for her. They were driving up and down the streets, yelling for her. Anna was sitting on the front steps when her aunt stopped in front of the house. Vegas and his wife were loading the car with the clothes they had bought for Anna because Vegas was getting ready to transport Anna out of state. Anna's aunt got out of the car and started walking up to the house. She said to Anna, "Come on, we're going home." Vegas's wife started yelling, "You ain't taking her nowhere." Vegas's wife grabbed Anna's arm, but she managed to leave with her aunt.

When they got home, Anna's mother called the police. The detective told Anna that Vegas would probably get off because he had money. The district attorney told her that most of these cases were brushed to the side because authorities thought that most girls were lying. Anna had to tell the authorities repeatedly, in graphic detail, about what was in Vegas's house and what he had done to her. "They badgered me," said Anna, referring to the authorities.

Anna's family took out a restraining order on Vegas, but he kept coming over to their house and parking outside. They called the police, but he would either be gone by the time the police got there or would remain outside the perimeter set by the restraining order. For her safety, Anna was placed in the Metro Regional Youth Detention Center (RYDC) for four months. Anna was attacked twice by other girls there. Authorities told Anna that the girls were rebelling, but Anna believed that these girls were sent into detention by the pimps to scare her.

For her safety, Anna was removed from Metro and placed under house arrest even though she had never committed a crime. She remained under house arrest for two months. Her case was referred to the FBI. The FBI told her that the only reason her case was pursued was because she never changed her story. "They took us through hell just to get my case heard in court," said Anna. Anna's exploiters were finally arrested and convicted. "I had to testify against Vegas and Derrick. That was the guy I thought I was in love with. It was so painful after what they did to me."

Anna had to move out of Atlanta because her mother did not want other children picking on her. Anna has tried to start a new life, but she says she is holding it all inside. "It's just there. I get angry. I fight. I cry. I cry everyday. I wake up with it. I go to sleep with it. Everyone judges me based on what I do. I got kicked out of school and they say that is because of what those men did to me." Although her mother and aunts are very supportive of her, Anna says that some of her family members call her names. "When they get mad at me, they call me 'whore', 'slut'. The only thing that really helps me is talking about it. It gets harder everyday. It gets harder to live. I know I'm supposed to be dead. I'm learning to cope with it. I've been pretending to be normal, but I'm not normal. I'm not like other kids. I can't do what other kids do. I want this to stop. It is not right; it is not okay to do this to our future."

Anna suffers from posttraumatic stress disorder.

Lísa -

16-year-old African American

When Lisa was 14 years old, she approached an unmarked police car on Stewart Avenue and offered to have sex with the occupant for \$25. Upon her arrest, it was discovered that she was carrying a loaded 9 mm handgun.

Lisa is the second oldest of eight children. Her whole family lived in a one-room trailer with no electricity. Lisa's mother is a drug addict, and Lisa's father sexually abused her and prostituted her to pay his debts. When the children were finally discovered abandoned in the trailer, they were placed with relatives. Lisa went to live with her aunt. She was 8 years old at that point.

Lisa was enrolled in school, but she was failing her classes. This was about the same time that Lisa started having unsupervised visits with her parents. When Lisa was 11, her father took her to steal food. She was caught and placed in detention. After her release, her aunt found her outside the house several times in cars with older men. She began to miss a lot of school, and there were rumors that she and her younger sister were engaging in prostitution regularly.

Lisa's aunt tried to intervene and restrict Lisa's contact with her parents, but Lisa would sneak out and meet her parents at various hotels on Stewart Avenue. Lisa's parents prostituted their daughter out of these hotels. In addition to sexual exploitation by her parents, Lisa has been raped twice by strangers. Lisa was finally arrested for prostitution outside the hotel where her parents resided. She was detained at Metro RYDC and then sent to Angela's House, the only facility in Atlanta specializing in sexually exploited young girls.

Lisa is an emotionally devastated adolescent. She suffers from posttraumatic stress disorder and conduct disorder. She feels rejected, depressed, anxious, and angry. Lisa is afraid of the dark, and she prefers to sleep on the floor. She is very thin, but she thinks she is fat. Lisa admits that she feels sad and has nightmares.

When asked about her parents, she replies, "I didn't like it when they did drugs. They didn't feed us. They didn't be around. They acted like they didn't know us." Nevertheless, she wants her parents back in her life in spite of the fact that they have exploited her sexually for money.

Lisa was referred to Children of the Night. Headquartered in Los Angeles, this is a national organization dedicated to assisting children between the ages of 11 and 17 who have been forced into prostitution. She has been relocated outside of Atlanta.

Trina and Angela – 16 and 17 year-old African Americans

Trina and her younger sister, Angela, lived with their mother and grandparents in Atlanta. Their mother was in and out of drug rehabilitation programs. Her drug of choice was marijuana. The girls' grandfather molested them, and their grandmother was very abusive towards them. When the girls were ages 11 and 12, their cousin put a gun to their heads and took them to Fulton Industrial Boulevard where he "turned them out" to work as prostitutes. Trina and Angela were forced to walk the street, pick up "dates" and take them back to a hotel room. Trina and Angela were picked up by the police. The arresting officer knew the girls; he detained them until they could be transported to the Metro Regional Youth Detention Center. They were both charged with providing false information and obstruction.

Both girls were extremely traumatized and often acted out in outbursts of anger and defiance. Only 11 years old, Trina already suffered from acute posttraumatic stress disorder and depression. She displayed psychotic behavior and functioned at a low level of intelligence.

Trina and Angela were referred to the Center to End Abuse and Sexual Exploitation (CEASE) and assigned two volunteers. Because the girls were so young and had so many problems, there were very few services available to them. The CEASE volunteers called thirty-five agencies before finding a group home in South Georgia that would take them. The girls lasted three days before the home had them removed.

Angela and Trina were turned over to law enforcement. Angela was returned to her mother. Trina was placed in a youth detention facility where she was held for almost a month before being transferred back to Metro. She was at Metro for another month during which time her DFCS caseworker attempted to find her an out-of-home placement. Trina turned 12 while in Metro.

The Fulton Juvenile Court Judge presiding over her case determined that Trina had been held too long and ordered her to be returned home. Within two weeks, Trina was having problems at school, disrupting classes and acting out. In addition, she was inappropriately approaching the male janitorial staff. Trina was suspended from school. Shortly after, she ran away.

When the police picked her up and brought her home, her mother felt unable to keep Trina from running away again, so she was taken back to Metro. While in detention, Trina denied running away. She said that she had a fight with her grandmother, and her grandmother caned her, so she left. Trina said she got on a bus and rode around until she recognized her best friend's house. Her best friend was a 17-year-old male. She said they had lots of fun going roller skating, bowling and to the movies. She also admitted that they had sex on several occasions.

From Metro, Trina was sent to boot camp for two months. During her seven months in Metro and two months in boot camp, Trina did not receive any counseling or treatment. After boot camp, Trina continued to have problems.

CEASE advocated for sending her to Cumberland House, a program that specializes in treating children with PTSD. The Special Assistant Attorney General (SAAG) in charge of the case dismissed the idea, saying, "She is just out of control." The SAAG also objected on the grounds that the program was too far away. However, the group home where the girls had initially been sent was the same distance away. Trina was sent to a long-term mental health facility where she was heavily medicated for two years.

The day after Trina got home, her mother took her to a family reunion. Faced with her exploiters and abusers, she ran away. Charges were never brought against her cousin or her grandfather. Trina was picked up again and committed to the state for two years. The SAAG's only comment: "We wasted money on this child." Trina was eventually released and returned home to her mother. She had a baby last year, born prematurely. Trina was soon back in court after getting in a fight with some girls. Angela has stayed out of the juvenile justice system but dropped out of high school.

Michelle -

14-year-old African American

Michelle constantly scowls. She has trouble sleeping at night and says she has had this problem "forever."

Michelle was born the second of seven children in 1991. Michelle's mother had her first child when she was 14 years old. She left Michelle's father after he became physically abusive toward her and has not encouraged him to remain active in his children's lives. Michelle's mother is committed to her children but overwhelmed.

She is unable to work because of childcare issues. Even going to church is difficult because it is impossible to get everyone in the car at the same time.

The family has moved more than ten times in the past thirteen years; as a result, Michelle has missed a lot of school. Michelle began having problems in school when she was about eight. She attended four different elementary schools, often changing mid-year. She attended two different middle schools. Michelle was suspended once. Michelle feels that her poor grades in 6th grade had to do with missing too much school because "we moved from house to house with my auntie, friends, other people." Michelle had to repeat 7th grade due to poor grades and truancy.

The family came to the attention of the Department of Family and Children's Services when Michelle falsely accused her mother of beating her. Michelle was trying to punish her mother because her stepfather had moved out. "I call him my real daddy," says Michelle. Michelle says she cannot stand her mother and admits that she lied about her mother beating her. She shows no remorse for having her mother arrested.

Recently, the family moved into a government housing project after being evicted from their Section 8 apartment. Michelle's mother allowed her sister and her five children to move into their already crowded apartment. Michelle did not want to move back into the "projects" and began running away. She claims her life is hard "cause my mom believes everything the children say – her children and my cousins. They make themselves cry and then say I hit them, and she believes them over me."

Michelle says she did not run away. "I just spent the night with friends and came home in the morning to change clothes." In fact, she was gone for up to a week at a time. In 2004, she was placed on electronic monitoring but cut the leg monitor off and ran away. Michelle was then placed in a group home from which she also ran away.

Michelle claims she has been sexually active since she was 13 years old and has had less than five sexual partners of her choosing. She has also been prostituted by a pimp, "selling my body for a couple of weeks" and estimates that she has been with "more than 15 people," all adults or older males. Michelle was taken out of Atlanta by her pimp. She admitted that they "went outside of Georgia every week, to Miami – he took a whole bunch of females." Michelle contracted gonorrhea and was treated. She discovered she was pregnant when she was 13 years old.

Michelle smokes marijuana and cigarettes and abuses alcohol. She has a second grade reading level. Michelle suffers from conduct order, depression and antisocial behavior. She believes that only constant vigilance and quick counteraction can prevent others from abusing her. She is unwilling to let anyone get close to her. Michelle finds her relationships with other teens to be painful, and she experiences rejection and a sense of isolation from others her own age. In addition, she feels alienated from her family. As a result, Michelle turns to whoever is "accepting and supportive" of her even if their intention is to exploit her. She is currently committed to the Department of Juvenile Justice and is living in a group home.

Sara -

17-year-old Caucasían

Sara has lived in Bartow County with her father for most of her life. Her parents broke up when she was one year old. Her father was given full custody because Sara's mother had mental health problems and neglected her. Sara's father has since remarried and has several stepsons and a stepdaughter. Out of everyone in her family, Sara feels closest to her mother, but her father discourages contact between them.

Sara has a very strained relationship with her father and has run away from home several times. The longest she has stayed away was one week. She says that when she was at home her father was either at work or "hanging with his friends." When Sara was 14 years old, she was kicked out of the house, and she went to live with a male friend for a year. When she was 15, she had a baby with her 19-year-old boyfriend.

Sara says she started smoking cigarettes when she was 9 years old. When she was 15 years old, she started using alcohol and rapidly escalated to two bottles of vodka a week. She also began experimenting with marijuana that year. Marijuana is Sara's drug of choice.

In 9th grade, Sara was expelled from school for walking off campus with "some guy." She had been suspended before that for making inappropriate comments to her teachers. She says she plans to get her GED.

In 2003, Sara (then 15 years old) approached a car on Cleveland Avenue and offered to "date" the occupant for \$50. She entered the car and told the occupant to go and get condoms. When he asked her what her age was, she lied and said 19. He was an undercover officer, and Sara was arrested for prostitution and lying about her age.

A missing person's report had been filed for her in Bartow County by her father. When he was contacted by the Atlanta Police Department, however, he refused to pick her up or take custody of her. Sara admitted that she had been abused by her father on several occasions and that she did not want to go home. She was detained in the Rome Regional Youth Detention Center and subsequently placed in a group home. A year later Sara was spotted walking with a known prostitute on Metropolitan Parkway. She was approached by an officer and arrested a second time. Sara was referred to CEASE and ordered to attend a drug rehabilitation program.

Sounding the Alarm: Historical Background

In 2000, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* published an editorial by Fulton County Chief Juvenile Court Judge Nina Hickson in which she decried the alarming increase in commercial sexual exploitation of young girls since her appointment in 1999 (Hickson, 2000). Although many girls appeared in her court for violations other than prostitution, including loitering, possession of a controlled substance, running away or giving a false name, a disturbingly common theme of sexual exploitation began to emerge. Hickson called this an epidemic of tragic proportions.

Hickson was not alone in noticing this disturbing trend. Alesia Adams was also seeing these girls in her job at the Fulton County Court Appointed Special Advocates, Inc. (CASA). In response, she established the Victims of Prostitution Program (VOP), a volunteer-based program. The mission of VOP was to work toward the elimination of child exploitation and teen prostitution in Fulton County by seeking and obtaining treatment for victims and by seeking and obtaining prosecution of pimps, johns, and other child exploiters.

Many community and civic leaders were also alarmed. A taskforce was created to raise awareness in the community; initiate legislation to make pimping and pandering of minors a felony in Georgia; advocate for state appropriation for services that addressed the needs of victims of commercial sexual exploitation; and raise private funds for Angela's House, the first safe house for sexually exploited girls east of the Mississippi. The taskforce was comprised of public officials, community-based providers, child advocates, and community leaders. As part of this momentum, the taskforce held a lobby day at the State Capitol on January 25, 2001; a "Show Up and Be Counted" rally on January 31; a candlelight vigil on February 12, 2002; and a second lobby day on February 13, 2002.

In conjunction with the community mobilization beginning in 2000, Jane Hansen of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* wrote a series of articles chronicling the commercial sexual exploitation of girls in Atlanta, the impact this exploitation was having on children, and the impunity that their exploiters enjoyed (Hansen,

2001). According to Hansen, "in a triad of pimps, prostitutes and customers, pimps are the least likely to be arrested and prosecuted, even when the prostitute is a child."

One of the main reasons pimps were not being arrested was the lack of strong laws against pimping of minors in the state of Georgia. The pimping and pandering of a minor in the state of Georgia was classified as a misdemeanor payable with a \$50 fine. Girls were routinely being criminalized, while their adult exploiters continued to victimize them with impunity.

With the support of the taskforce, Fulton County Commissioner Nancy Boxill led the campaign to persuade the Georgia General Assembly to pass the "Child Sexual Commerce Prevention Act of 2001." The act changed the definition of prostitution to include acts of sodomy and sexual acts for items of value instead of only in exchange for money, and it made pandering a gender-neutral offense. It also made pandering or pimping a minor a felony and set the penalty at not less than five nor more than twenty years, with fines up to \$10,000. A year later, the Atlanta Women's Foundation spearheaded the passage of a bill to make the transportation for purposes of prostitution a crime. The new law targeted the practice of taxi cab drivers who pick up passengers at the downtown Atlanta hotels and receive kick-back for delivering them to places where prostitution occurs.

Beginning in 2000, fourteen of the most egregious pimps in Atlanta were investigated by the FBI under the auspices of the United States Attorney for Georgia's Northern District, Richard Deane. Investigation revealed a prostitution ring that targeted young girls, some as young as 10. Beginning in the fall of 2000, the FBI and the Atlanta Police Department launched a series of raids, arresting eleven of the fourteen pimps under the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Traditionally reserved for organized crime involving drugs, no pimp had ever been charged under the RICO Act. In 2002, all fourteen pimps were found guilty on charges related to a widespread child prostitution scheme after months of hard work by the Asst. U.S. Atty. Janis Gordon. Several of the pimps were convicted under the RICO Act. "Sir Charles" Floyd Pipkin was sentenced to thirty years. Andrew Moore, aka "Batman," was sentenced to forty years. Pipkin and Moore both lost their appeals in 2004. Staff and friends of the Atlanta Women's Foundation organized a daily "court watch" to ensure that the girls who testified would feel support from the community.

Perhaps as an act of defiance, the national pimp community scheduled the annual Player's Ball to be held in Atlanta in 2003. The Player's Ball was established in the 1970s as a forum for pimps to be recognized for their achievements in the "game." The Player's Ball also serves as a venue for pimps to buy and sell women and girls. An outcry by the citizens of Atlanta forced the organizers to move the Ball to a private club in Decatur (Henry, 2003).

Girls at Risk:

The Scope of the Problem

Overwhelmingly, young African American girls are being identified as victims of CSEC in the city of Atlanta: ninety percent of cases referred to CEASE in 2004 were identified as African American. One of the most disturbing trends seen by law enforcement and human service agencies is that the age of first incidence for girls is getting younger. Based on anecdotal evidence and case file review, the average age of CSE appears to be 14, but girls as young as 10 and 11 have been exploited.³

Why Children Become Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Several factors have been identified as common risk factors among girls who have been victims of commercial sexual exploitation: conflicts at home, parental neglect, physical or sexual abuse, homelessness, poverty, housing instability, educational failure, emotional problems, and running away from home.

Problems at home

If a child does not feel that her needs are being met at home, she becomes vulnerable by seeking love and validation outside her family. Negative home life experiences are a significant predictor for prostitution (Brannigan & Van Brunschot, 1997). Conflicts in the home may be caused by numerous factors: parental neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, parental drug use, poverty, housing instability, violence between the parents. Dysfunctional family life, combined with an unstructured and unsupervised childhood, characterizes the lives of many prostituted girls and provides greater incentive for them to leave home (Klain, 1999). Parental neglect is a substantial factor regardless of socioeconomic status. Seventy-five percent of street youths in the U.S. are from working- and middle-class families (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

Childhood Sexual Abuse

In 2003, there were more than 48,000 substantiated incidents of child abuse and neglect in Georgia. Neglect makes up the overwhelming majority of these incidents, and physical abuse is the next largest category. The number of incidents of sexual abuse is much smaller than the other two categories, but it may be underreported. Childhood sexual abuse often occurs in the context of multi-problem homes (Widom & Ames, 1994). In 2004, research by Stop It Now! Georgia⁴ indicated that 88% of children who are sexually abused never disclose their abuse while they are still children. The result is that they fail to receive appropriate help or protection from their abusers.

Most girls who are sexually abused are abused by someone they know, and they are often abused in their own homes. Stop It Now! Georgia estimated that 82% of child sexual abuse cases in Georgia involved family and extended family members, of which 75% were perpetrated by someone in the child's immediate family (including the boyfriends of mothers who are single heads of households), 37% by a birth parent and 22% by a sibling. Research has found that a majority of girls and adult women engaged in prostitution were sexually abused as children (Sibert & Pines, 1981).

Childhood sexual abuse has a profound impact on adolescent development. Victims suffer from conduct disorder and engage in acting out behaviors such as running away, truancy, delinquency, aggressiveness, promiscuity and generally inappropriate behavior (Widom & Ames, 1994).

When you are working with kids who were traumatized prior to engaging in acting out behaviors, you see that they are stuck emotionally and developmentally at the age at which they were traumatized; and they have never worked through that. Even though they may be in a 13- or 14-year-old body, there is really a 4-year-old kid who is trying to get her needs met in a very primitive 4 year-old way: "I'll do whatever you want me to do so that you will love me."

Dr. Yolanda Graham, Medical Director, Inner Harbour and Angela's House

Poverty

The most recent figures on childhood poverty are from the 2000 census and can be viewed at the Annie B. Casey Foundation KIDS COUNT web site (www.aecf.org). Thirty-nine percent of all children under 18 in the city of Atlanta lived in poverty. Of the 243 largest cities in the nation, Atlanta ranked number 5 in the percentage of children under 18 who lived below the federal poverty level. In other words, only four cities had higher percentages of children in poverty. In 1990 the percentage was 42.9%, but Atlanta's rank was 10.

However, in 2000 Atlanta ranked number 1 in the percentage of children in extreme poverty, defined as below 50% of the poverty level.

In the city of Atlanta, 47.3% of children under the age of 18 lived in single-parent households, usually with a female head-of-household. In 1990 that percentage was 46.3%. In 2000, the median income in Atlanta for married couples with children was \$69,022; for single mothers with children it was \$14,547. Single mothers often struggle to make ends meet and spend long hours away from home in low-wage jobs. Children are left unsupervised for long periods of time.

The percentage of Atlanta children living in a family with no parent in the labor force was 24.4%. In 1990 it was 27.3%. High adult and youth unemployment rates contribute to underground economies, such as illegal guns and drugs. Communities with thriving underground economies experience increased crime and violence. Most children living in low-income metropolitan areas are either witnesses to or victims of violence (Ng-Mak, Salzinger, Felman & Stueve, 2002; also see Bell & Jenkins, 1993; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Osofsky et al., 1993; Richters & Martinez, 1993a).

Runaways/Throwaways

Ninety percent of runaways become part of the sex trade industry (Goodman, 2005). Approximately 1.7 million runaway/throwaway episodes occur every year in the U.S. (NISMART-2). A runaway episode is defined as follows: a child 14 years old or younger (or older and mentally incompetent), is away from home, chooses not to come home when expected to and stays away overnight; or a child 15 years old or older, is away from home, chooses not to come home and stays away two nights (NISMART-2).

A throwaway episode is defined as follows: a child is asked or told to leave home by a parent or other household adult, no adequate alternative care is arranged for the child by a household adult, and the child is out of the household overnight; or a child who is away from home is prevented from returning home by a parent or other household adult, no adequate alternative care is arranged for the child by a household adult, and the child is out of the household overnight (NISMART-2).

We see on average about a thousand kids a year. Our outreach team sees about 50 kids a month on average, depending on the weather. We find kids just about in any nook and cranny in the malls and other locations.

Alisa Porter, Director of Funding and Development, Covenant House Georgia

In almost every case of CSE, girls have an extensive history of running away. Physical and sexual abuse has been found to be the strongest influencing factor in girls' decisions to runaway from home (Simkins & Katz, 2002; Belkap, 2001; Chelsey-Lind & Sheldon, 1998). Runaway/throwaway adolescents are likely to become victims of physical assault and sexual exploitation (Tyler, Whitbeck, Hoyt & Cauce, 2004; Stewart et al., 2004). Once out on the street, one out of every three teens will be lured toward prostitution within 48 hours of leaving home (NISMART-2).

Girls on the street experienced significantly higher levels of physical and sexual abuse than boys did (Chapple, Johnson & Whitbeck, 2004). One study found that at least 23% of females in their study had experienced sexual victimization on at least one occasion since being on the streets and that 98% of their victimizers were men (Tyler, Whitbeck, Hoyt & Cauce, 2004). Age was also shown to be a factor. The younger a girl was upon running away from home, the more likely she was to be sexually victimized.

Females who engaged in "survival sex" were five times more likely to be sexually exploited. Survival sex refers to the selling of sex to meet subsistence needs. It includes the exchange of sex for shelter, food, drugs, or money (Green, Ennett & Ringwalt, 1999). A national study of shelter youth and street youth found that approximately 10% of shelter youth and 28% of street youth reported engaging in survival sex (Green et al., 1999). In addition, the odds of engaging in survival sex were increased for youth who had been victimized, participated in criminal behaviors, attempted suicide, had an STD or had been pregnant. Survival sex was also associated with substance use and lifetime injection drug use.

This little blond, blue eyed, pigtailed girl came to Atlanta from Nebraska. This girl explained that she had followed the rap artists here because they did not have rappers in Nebraska. She told me, "I wasn't prostituting. I was just going to bachelor's parties. I'd take my clothes off. I'd get paid for that, but I got to stay with all the rappers."

Alesia Adams, Project Director, CEASE

One girl, a tiny Asian-appearing child, took a bus all the way to Atlanta from Michigan. She was picked up shoplifting at Perimeter Mall.

Nikki Marr, former DeKalb Juvenile Court Judge

Psychological and Emotional Difficulties

Girls who have experienced psychological and emotional difficulties, whether due to family issues or other precipitating factors, are at greater risk of being sexually exploited commercially (Klain, 1999). They often have difficulty in school and experience social isolation from peers not engaged in delinquent behavior.

Modes of Entrance:

How Girls Become Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

It is a misconception that girls are willing participants in their own exploitation. Juveniles lack the knowledge, maturity, and awareness to understand the consequences of their actions and in making such choices (Boxill & Richardson, 2005). An overwhelming majority of prostituted girls have pimps (Klain, 1999). Girls are almost always recruited into prostitution. In some cases, girls are kidnapped and detained for days and even months. They are even abducted by someone they know and then sold to pimps against their will. FBI debriefings of sex traffickers or pimps indicate that approximately twenty to forty percent of the victims forced or recruited into prostitution were juveniles.5

I have never seen a case where a child approached an adult and said, "Okay, can you be my pimp?" A pimp is typically a man who has developed a relationship with her, claiming that he loves her, and this child really, truly feels that she loves this man.

Linda Watson, Probation Officer DeKalb County Juvenile Justice Department

Recruiters and Pimps

Recruiters may engage in actively pimping girls or act as "middlemen" for pimps. As may be seen from the case histories at the beginning of this report, recruiters may be a girl's peers or family members, both male and female. Female pimps are often former prostitutes who recruit younger girls to work for them (Klain, 1999). What recruiters and pimps have in common is the ability to identify vulnerable girls and exploit that vulnerability to gain trust and control.

Male recruiters are usually between the ages of 18 and 35. According to Judge Nikki Marr, they are usually attractive males who approach the girls as potential boyfriends. "They don't have big furry hats and jangling jewelry and all that kind of stuff. They have on the same sneakers and the same pants and jackets and shirts as the kids who go to our high schools."

Female recruiters are becoming increasingly common. Female recruiters are often victims of sexual exploitation themselves. According to Marr, "They know exactly what to look for." Cinzia Coleman, DeKalb County Juvenile Court Senior Probation Officer, has found that female recruiters are "generally high school dropouts, between the ages of 18 to 35. They may work at low paying jobs. They may work at adult clubs. Some call themselves community moms, who allow the girls to hang out at their homes when they're in a crisis with their family." Not all female recruiters fit that profile. Cinzia Coleman recently saw a girl who was recruited by a college student.

Children as recruiters

Children are increasingly being used as recruiters. If a child is recruiting other children into prostitution, there is an adult behind it. An increased penalty for pimping and pandering of minors has led exploiters to use children as frontline recruiters. According to Adams, "Pimps call themselves these girls' boyfriends and say, 'get me another one, get me another one." The reason for this, according to Adams, is that if the child recruiter does bring another girl in and is then arrested, she will not face the same penalty as an adult. The pimp is not arrested because it is difficult to prove he was involved.

A 12-year-old girl was at an after-school program when her 13 year old sister went and got her and took her to the pimp. People will find that appalling, but you have to understand Stockholm syndrome; and you have to understand how good pimps are at manipulating these girls.

Alesia Adams, Project Director, CEASE

Indoctrination

Grooming is a two-stage process for getting a girl ready to be "turned out." It is a slow process. In the first stage the girl is made to feel attractive and wanted. The pimp will spend money on her and give her special attention and validation. The goal, of course, is to coerce her into selling sex for money, money that the pimp always keeps. Drugs are also introduced during the grooming process to make girls more pliable and foster dependency. Sex between the pimp and girl is always part of the grooming process.

It may start when the pimp and the girl are having sex, and he might invite somebody over there at the same time. The pimp says, "okay, you want to do him too?" or something of that nature. Or the pimp has the girl in a hotel room, and he allows other men to come into that hotel room to have sex with her, and she does not have a choice.

Cinzia Coleman, Senior Probation Officer, DeKalb County Juvenile Court

In the second phase the pimp will attempt to break a girl's will though physical and verbal abuse to prepare her for a life of prostitution and to separate her completely from her previous life. The pimp will move her around to break her ties to her family and community. The grooming process parallels the dynamics of a batterer's relationship (Klain, 1999). The grooming process insures that a girl will develop a deep attachment to her pimp.

My ex-pimp has convinced me that no man is ever going to want to be with me, knowing what I'm doing, you know? Except for someone else that's living this kind of life. Someone else, that's the game.

Kaycee, 22 year old escort

He was real sweet at first, then he began telling me, "You can't stay in this house for free."

Sharon, 17 year old

Recruitment Areas

According to Adams, recruiters are anywhere children are, especially troubled children or children that are clearly unsupervised. Children are approached at MARTA stations and bus stops. Malls are also a popular recruitment site. Underground Atlanta is a major recruitment area. According to Sergeant D.M. Williams of the Atlanta Police Department, "men drive around in their cars, stopping and talking to these little girls." Girls are even recruited in school and churches.

Williams also reports that students will recruit in their schools. "You will actually get a student that is already into it and supposed to be the pimp's girlfriend who goes out and recruits them for the pimp." Girls are recruited out of detention centers, shelters, and the Greyhound bus station. Williams even knew of a shelter where girls had been picked up by limousine.

Trafficking of girls across international and state borders

CSEC is both a homegrown and an international business. Girls are moved from country to country and state to state.

In 2003, Juan Reyes Rojas, a Mexican national, pled guilty to two counts of human trafficking for smuggling two women (one of them a 16-year-old) from Mexico into Atlanta. Reyes forced the women to have sex with ten to twenty-five men a night. Reyes' two brothers were charged with running a smuggling and prostitution ring. Metro Atlanta is an ideal location for international trafficking due in part to the large and growing immigrant communities, but also due to the city's frequent business conventions and large sporting events.

It is impossible to estimate the number of persons trafficked into the Atlanta area, but the Department of Justice estimates that 17,500 to 18,500 people are trafficked into the United States each year. The federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) seeks to combat human trafficking by punishing traffickers, protecting victims, and mobilizing U.S. government agencies to wage a global anti-trafficking campaign. As part of this initiative, the City of Atlanta and Cobb County have received Law Enforcement & Service Provider Anti-Trafficking Task Force Grants.

The Immigrant and Refugee Coalition Challenging Gender Based Oppression, known as "Tapestri," advocates on behalf of immigrant and refugee families in the Atlanta area that have been affected by domestic violence, sexual assault and exploitation. Women and girls who have been trafficked into Atlanta can receive direct services though Tapestri's Anti-Trafficking Programs: crisis counseling, emergency food and shelter, housing, transportation, medical and mental health services, immigration assistance, and legal referral and advocacy. Women and girls are trafficked for several reasons; some are brought to this country to be prostitutes or domestic servants, others are mail-order brides.

Domestically trafficked girls are moved in and out of Atlanta on well-worn paths from Maine to Miami. Interstate victims have few resources available to them. They are often sent back to their place of residence, frequently placing them back in dangerous situations with little or no follow up.

In February 2004, two men from Mississippi were found guilty of kidnapping, enticing a minor to engage in commercial sex, transporting a minor across state lines for purposes of prostitution, and inducing and transporting an individual to travel in interstate commerce for the purpose of prostitution. The two men had kidnapped a minor female from Arkansas and forced her to engage in street prostitution and then return to their motel room every day in the Fulton Industrial Boulevard area. This was a clear case of domestic trafficking, but the situations are not always so clear. Consider the case of Tammy.

Tammy lives in North Carolina with her father. Her mother lives in Chatham County. Last year, Tammy, then a 16-year-old, was brought to Atlanta by her father's girlfriend. Shortly after, she was arrested for offering sex to an undercover police officer. Tammy's father drove from North Carolina to get his daughter. Because Tammy lives out of state, there is no way to know if this was an isolated incident of survival sex or if she was trafficked to Atlanta for the purpose of sexual exploitation. To date, Tammy has not shown up in Atlanta.

Perceptions of Atlanta: The Sex Industry

Atlanta has a thriving adult sex industry. There are approximately 4,000 strippers who work at the 40 adult clubs in the metro Atlanta area (Emerson, 2005). As result, Atlanta has developed a national reputation as a sexual tourist destination. Internet sex guides and blogs offer comprehensive guides to escort services in Atlanta. Even Craig's List advertises Atlanta-specific sex services.

Within the last year, you see more and more girls out on the streets, and it is because so many pimps are coming into the city from other locations and other states. Their thing is to put the juveniles to work on the streets. They feel that the money is here in the city. They are flocking here in droves.

Sgt. D.M. Williams, Atlanta Police Department

- ¹ Statement of Chris Swecker, Assistant Director, Criminal Investigative Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe United States Helsinki Commission, June 7, 2005
- ² A panderer is any person who engages a minor to participate, for pay or barter, in a sexual act with himself/herself or others, where no physical force is used. Panderers are also called consumers, clients, buyers, johns, tricks, and dates.
- ³ This finding is consistent with Estes & Weiner, 2002 and ECPAT, 2005.
- ⁴ Stop It Now! Georgia is a program of Prevent Child Abuse Georgia. Prevent Child Abuse Georgia is a private non-profit organization dedicated to the prevention of child abuse in all of its forms. Through prevention programs and public awareness activities, Prevent Child Abuse Georgia and a network of communities are making a difference in the state of Georgia. The goal of Stop It Now! Georgia is to help adults take responsibility for preventing the sexual abuse of children.
- ⁵ Statement of Chris Swecker, Assistant Director, Criminal Investigative Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe United States Helsinki Commission, June 7, 2005.

Where the Girls Are: Mapping Atlanta

Sexual exploitation through prostitution appears to be the most prevalent form of CSE of girls in Atlanta. This may be due in part to the more public nature of prostitution. It is difficult to identify CSEC in private venues, such as massage parlors, dance clubs and other legal establishments where sex is sold. In an effort to understand the trends of CSEC in the city of Atlanta, geo-coded police data from 2002, 2003, and 2004 have been mapped. For a description of the zone boundaries, please see Appendix C.

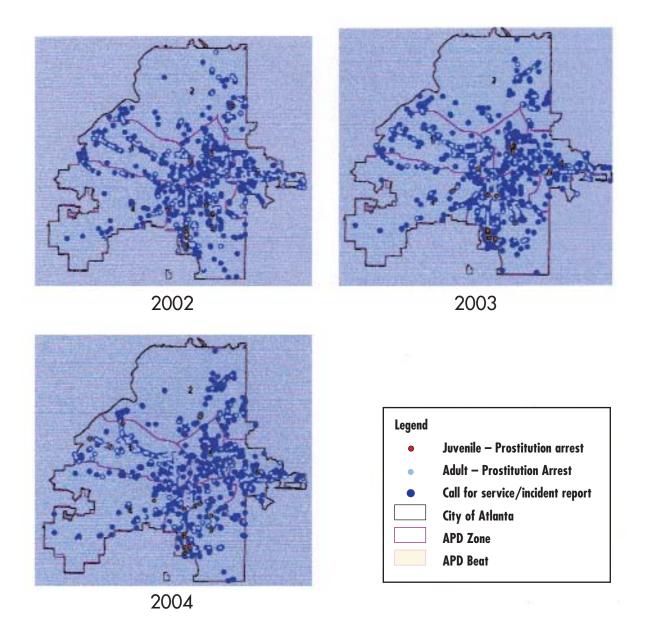
Spatial data have been presented as citywide and zone level. Exhibit 1 shows spatial trends of juvenile and adult prostitution arrests and 911* calls for services. Exhibit 2 shows spatial trends of juvenile and adult prostitution arrest and 911* calls for service in relation to adult sex venues (strip clubs, lingerie-modeling shops, sex shops). Exhibit 3 shows spatial trends of juvenile arrests (prostitution, truancy, runaway) in relation to adult arrest and adult sex venues. Exhibit 4 shows spatial trends of juvenile and adult prostitution-related activities in relation to public schools. Exhibit 5 shows spatial trends of juvenile arrests (prostitution, truancy, runaway) in relation to identified recruitment areas

Zone maps have also been created to show spatial data at the street level. Two types of zone level maps were created, 1) adult and juvenile prostitution arrest and 911* calls for service and 2) juvenile arrests (prostitution, truancy, runaway), adult prostitution activities, adult sex venues and hotels. Zone maps are found in appendix C and D.

The following conclusions can be drawn from analysis of spatial data:

- There is a strong spatial correlation between areas of adult prostitution activities and juvenile prostitution-related activities. Juvenile activity is nested in established tracks such as Metropolitan Parkway, Moreland Avenue, Vine Street, Peachtree and North Avenue, and Pharr Road.
- Juvenile truants and runaways are often found in areas with heavy adult prostitution activities.
- There are prostitution-related activities around most public schools in Atlanta, especially in Zones 1, 3, 5 and 6.
- There is a spatial association between prostitution-related activities and legal adult sex venues.
- There is a spatial association between prostitution-related activities and hotels.

Prostitution Arrests and 911* Calls for Service



Prostitution activities are occurring throughout Atlanta but there are areas where this activity is heavily clustered. Vine Street in Zone 1, Peachtree Road at Pharr Road and Piedmont at I-85 in Zone 2, Metropolitan Parkway and the surrounding streets and Cleveland Avenue are established tracks in Zone 3, Campbellton Road from Stanton to Main Street is a track in Zone 4, from 10th Street to Decatur Avenue and from I-75/85 to Boulevard Avenue of Zone 5, Moreland at I-20 and Memorial Drive in Zone 6 are all established tracks where juvenile activity has been identified. Every case of juvenile arrest for prostitution was nested in adult prostitution activity. Street level analysis by zone was done on 2003 and 2004 data. See Appendix C.

Prostitution Arrests and 911* Calls for Service in Relation to Adult Sex Venues

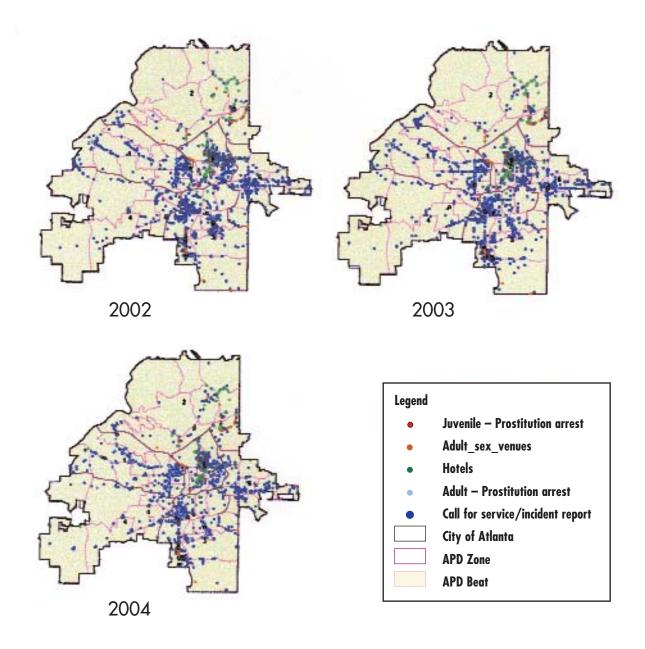
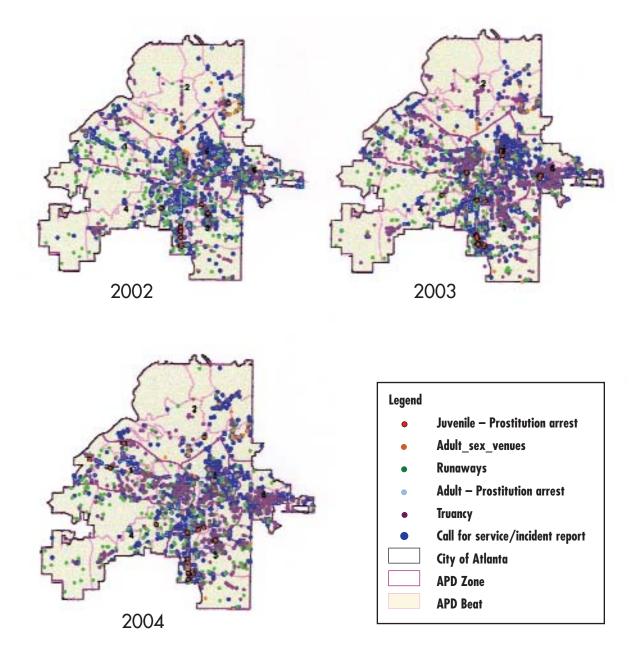


Exhibit 2 shows the proximity of prostitution activities to adult sex venues and hotels. Included under the heading of adult sex venues are strip clubs, lingerie modeling venues and sex shops. Most sex venues are clustered in Zone 2, 3 and 6. There appears to be a spatial association between hotels and prostitution related activities.

Juvenile Arrests (Prostitution, Truancy, Runaway) in relation to Adult Arrest and Adult Sex Venues



Runaway and truancy behavior have been identified as risk factors for CSEC. Exhibit 3 shows the spatial distribution of prostitution-related activities and runaway/truancy arrests. Without exception, juveniles are found in areas of adult prostitution activities. For street level analysis by Zones see Appendix D.

Prostitution Activities in relation to Public Schools

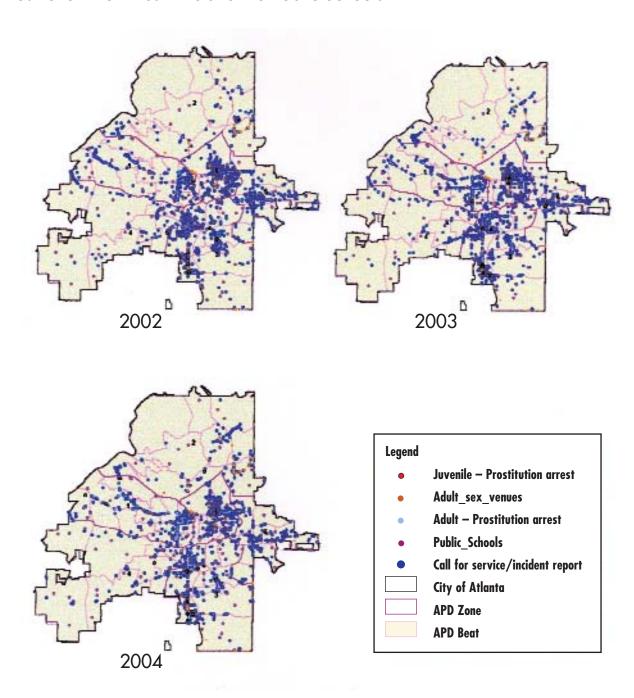
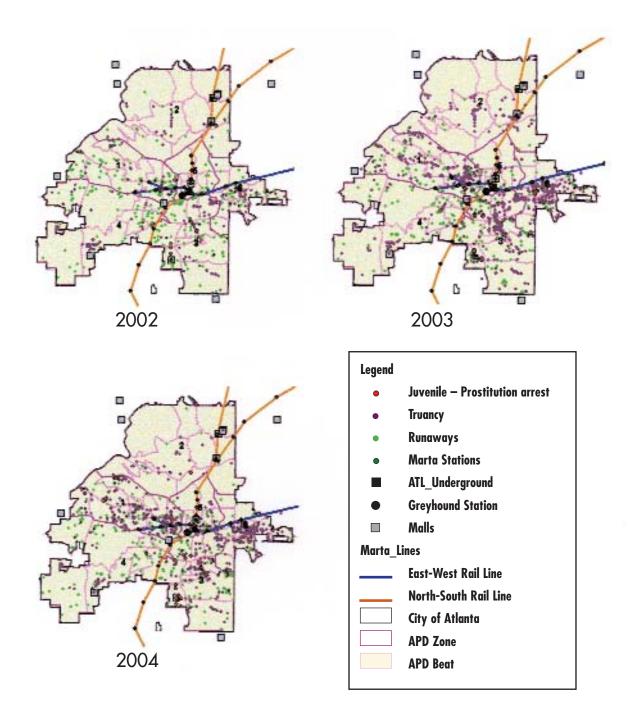


Exhibit 4 shows the spatial distribution of prostitution-related activities in relation to public schools. There is a spatial proximity between schools and prostitution activities. This is particularly evident in Zones 1, 3, 5 and 6.

Juvenile Arrests in relation to Recruitment Areas



MARTA stations and malls have been identified as major recruitment areas. Exhibit 5 shows the spatial association of juvenile arrests in relation to points of interest within Atlanta. It is important to note that most malls and several MARTA stations are located outside of the city limits and arrest data was only available within the city of Atlanta.

Consequences:

The Impact of Commercial Sexual Exploitation on Girls

Cycles of Violence

Girls who are victims of CSE are often caught in a cycle of violence. Many are running away from violent homes. One of the dominant features of CSE of girls is that most are under the control of a pimp where physical and emotional violence are routine (Estes & Weiner, 2001). In addition, girls face numerous other threats when on the streets and while engaging in prostitution, including rape, assault, robbery and murder. Street prostitution tends to be more dangerous than other forms of commercial sex. Nevertheless, girls engaging in escort services, stripping, and pornography are not exempt from violence and degradation.

Part of the System: Juvenile Justice

One of the consequences of CSE is that many girls end up in the juvenile justice system. Their entry into the juvenile justice system is not necessarily for prostitution-related charges. As a result, they may slip though the cracks unnoticed because they appear for status offenses and probation violations. In addition, many girls provide false names and lie about their age. Pimps often provide girls with false identification. As a result, they are arrested as adults and released back to their exploiters without ever being identified as minors.

These girls are often very angry, and because of their participation in delinquent or criminal behavior, they tend to be viewed as offenders rather than victims. These misperceptions may block or delay referral for appropriate services. This is particularly alarming in light of a recent study that found the mortality rates of delinquent female youth were nearly eight times that of the general population (Teplin, McClelland, Abram, & Mileusnic, 2005). CEASE has played a crucial role in educating the judicial community about the warning signs of sexual exploitation. Girls entering Metro Regional Youth Detention Center are screened for signs of sexual exploitation and referred to CEASE.

Tolls on the Body: Health Consequences

Involvement in prostitution places girls at greater risk of health problems and health-compromising behaviors including drug and alcohol abuse, depression, and suicide attempts. Several studies have documented the correlation between the sexual and physical violence and negative health outcomes and risk behaviors of adolescent girls (Silverman, Raj, Mucci, Hathaway, 2001; also see Cunningham, Stiffman, Dore, Earls, 1994; Nagy, DiClemente, Adcock, 1995). A girl who is a victim of CSE has a high risk of unplanned pregnancy, STD infection, and HIV infection.

Depression and Risk of Suicide

Exposure to violence by adolescents has been associated with depression, hopelessness, decreased sense of purpose, and other psychological and emotional trauma (DuRant, et al. 2000). Girls who suffer from depression, especially those experiencing high levels of conflict with a parent, are at a higher risk of depression recurrence (Lewinsohn et al., 2000). They miss more days of school, perform at lower grade levels than their peers, and engage in drug use and binge drinking (Glied & Pine, 2002). Girls who have experienced sexual abuse are also more likely to engage in self-mutilating behavior and suicidal ideation (Lipschitz et al., 1999).

Substance Abuse

Drugs and alcohol are consistent themes in the lives of girls who have been sexually exploited. There is a lack of consensus on whether substance abuse precedes exploitation or is a consequence of exploitation (Friedman, 2005).

STD and HIV Infection

Young women, especially those of minority races or ethnicities, are increasingly at risk for HIV infection through heterosexual contact. According to a study of HIV prevalence among disadvantaged youth during the early to mid-1990s, the rate of HIV prevalence among young women aged 16–21 was 50% higher than the rate among young men in that age group (Valleroy et al. 1998).

One in four sexually active teenagers is infected with a sexually transmitted disease (STD) every year (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1994). Adolescent girls are at higher risk than boys for STD and HIV infection for several reasons, including biologic vulnerability, lack of recognition of their partners' risk factors, and having sex with older men who are more likely to be infected with HIV (CDC, 2005). Exploited girls tend to suffer more pelvic inflammatory disease and other infectious diseases (Klain, 1999). In addition, adolescent girls in the sex trade are at highest risk of complications due to the disproportionate rates of STDs.

Unplanned Pregnancy

Exploited girls are at increased risk of unplanned pregnancy. Due to the predatory nature of CSE, girls are often unable to negotiate condom use. The younger the girl, the higher the risk of pregnancy complications and birth defects. Moreover, adolescent girls who have babies are less likely to graduate from high school (64 percent graduate or get a GED versus 94 percent of non-parent teens), and more likely to live in poverty, rely on welfare (nearly 80 percent of teen mothers eventually rely on welfare), and use alcohol and drugs (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2005). Children born to teenage mothers are more likely to have a low birth weight, experience serious long-term health and developmental problems, be poor, have inadequate health care, not finish high school, and be abused or neglected (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2005).

Cognitive and Developmental Delays

Girls who have been victims of CSE are at risk of cognitive and developmental delays. Children who are prostituted are often socially isolated and unsuccessful in school and with peers, and this often leads them to drop out of school (Klain, 1999). Long periods of truancy, acting out behaviors, and stigmatization by peers negatively impact the ability of CSE girls to thrive in the school environment. Seven to 15% of juvenile delinquents are diagnosed with mental retardation, and 17% to 53% have learning disabilities (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2001). In addition, sexual victimization may interfere with developmental processes and facilitate the development of delinquent behavior (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1992).

Psychological Disorders

Victims of CSE often suffer from mental health problems including posttraumatic stress disorder, conduct disorder, and borderline personality disorder. The most common diagnosis found among girls is posttraumatic stress disorder. It is important to note that adolescents, especially girls, who experience CSE have a much higher chance of developing a psychiatric disorder, continuing to have one, or developing another episode after remission, than adolescents who do not experience CSE (Costello et al., 2003).

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is caused when a person has been exposed to a traumatic event or the person experiences, witnesses, or is confronted with an event or events that involve actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others; the person's responses involve

intense fear, helplessness, or horror. In children this may be expressed by disorganized or agitated behavior. Sufferers of PTSD re-experience the trauma through flashbacks, nightmares, or somatic symptoms. PTSD can have a dramatic effect on a child's development, altering the processes of exploring appropriate interpersonal relationships and forming a personal identity (The Carl Vinson Institute of Government, 2004).

Several studies suggest that more than 50% of sexually abused children meet partial or full criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder (Saywitz, Mannarino, Berliner & Cohen, 2000; also see McLeer, Henry, Orvashel, 1992; McLeer et al., 1988). Evidence also suggests that the experience of sexual abuse makes an independent contribution to later symptoms of PTSD (Saywitz et al., 2000; also see Wind & Silvern, 1994). In addition, comorbidity of PTSD and substance abuse has also been documented in adolescent girls (Lipschitz et al. 2003; also see Lipschitz et al. 2000; Clarke, Lesnick & Hededus, 1997; Deykin, Buka, 1997).

Conduct Disorder

Conduct disorder is the second most common psychiatric diagnosis among victims of CSE (Akin-Little & Little, 2003). Adolescents with conduct disorder display repetitive and persistent patterns of behavior in which the rights of others or basic social rules are violated. This may be exhibited through aggression, property destruction, deceitfulness, theft, truancy, curfew violations, or running away.

Parental criminal behavior, poor parenting skills, lack of parental warmth, poor child monitoring, poverty, and harsh or ineffective discipline practices are associated with the development of conduct disorder (The Carl Vinson Institute of Government, 2004). Conduct disorder tends to co-occur with a number of other emotional and behavioral disorders of childhood, particularly Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and Mood Disorders (such as depression) (NMHA Fact Sheet, 2005).

Borderline Personality Disorder

Borderline personality disorder (BPD) is categorized in adolescents by six criteria: intense emotions, impulsive acts, illusory social adaptation, strained social relationships, brief psychotic episodes, and persistence of disorder (The Carl Vinson Institute of Government, 2004). Children with BPD exhibit frantic efforts to avoid real or imagined abandonment; identity disturbance; sexual impulsivity; recurrent suicidal behavior, gestures, or threats, or self-mutilating behavior; intense episodic dysphoria, irritability, or anxiety; chronic feelings of emptiness; inappropriate, intense anger or difficulty controlling anger; transient, stress-related paranoid ideation; or severe dissociative symptoms (American Psychological Association, Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th ed., text revision, 2000).

Pathways Out:

How girls recover from commercial sexual exploitation — do they recover?

Very few success stories exist. Even after girls are out of exploitive situations, they are faced with a host of physical and emotional problems. They are often stigmatized, pushing them further into isolation. Some girls age out of the juvenile justice system and into the adult system. Many do not ask for help because the only "help" they have ever gotten is from their exploiter. Among those who do reach out for help, family support has been identified as an important factor for successful recovery. Appropriate and responsive services are equally as critical.

Breaking though the Denial

According to Dr. Yolanda Graham, Medical Director of Angela's House and Inner Harbour, many of the girls deny that they have been exploited. Many of them see their residency at Angela's House as a way to get out of

jail so they can run back to their community and engage in their old behaviors. The first month of the program at Angela's House provides girls with structure and safety and an opportunity to break through the denial. According to Graham, "if we can keep her from running away long enough, then we can work with that child to get at the dynamics underneath."

The bottom line is they do not consider themselves to be exploited. But they have been having sex with adults, if not for cash, then for safety and a place to call home. They are doing this day in and day out.

Nikki Marr, former DeKalb Juvenile Court Judge

If they are really afraid of their pimp, they are going to tell us, "You'll never catch him." That is what many of these girls have told us. "You'll never catch him. I'm not going to tell anything," or "He's been better to me than my parents have been to me." It is very hard for us to gain their trust.

Sgt. D.M. Williams, Atlanta Police Department Law-Enforcement Response, Atlanta Police Department

In response to criticism for the underreporting of prostitution related crimes, the Atlanta Police Department has made significant efforts to address prostitution activity in the city.

The Vice Unit targets escort services and massage parlors, as well as street level prostitution, arresting prostitutes and panderers. During these sweeps, juveniles are sometimes picked up. When this happens, the Child Sexual Exploitation Unit receives a copy of the report and assigns an investigator. Minors who are arrested by Vice are detained at Metro RegionalYouth Detention Center. The investigator immediately goes out and talks to the child. The Child Sexual Exploitation Unit was established specifically to address crimes where children have been sexually exploited.

The main thing that we try to stress to her is that, "You are a victim. We are not here to charge you, and whoever is doing this to you is wrong for doing it to you." Our focus is to try to get her trust in order for us to get our hands on her pimp.

Sgt. D.M. Williams, Atlanta Police Department

The Atlanta Police Department has also received a grant from the Office of Human Trafficking of the Department of Justice to establish an Anti-trafficking Unit. Three undercover detectives have been hired who are dedicated exclusively to locating and charging perpetrators of sexual exploitation of women and girls who have been transported into Atlanta.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In 2003, the FBI's Criminal Investigative Division/Violent Crimes Section, in conjunction with both the Department of Justice/Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children implemented a national initiative named "Innocence Lost" to address child prostitution in the United States. A multi-faceted strategy was developed to train personnel and establish task forces; share intelligence concerning pimps, juveniles used in prostitution, and criminal enterprises; and support long-term investigations with the requisite personnel and financial resources. The Atlanta FBI office was identified as one of fourteen field sites having the highest incidence of children used in prostitution.

Judicial and Human Service Response:

Prevention and Intervention

The districts attorneys must make the prosecution of pimps and johns a priority. If Atlanta is perceived as a "no tolerance" zone for this illegal behavior, it will go a long way in creating the cultural shift necessary to move it from the category of a "victimless crime." According to Deborah Richardson, Vice President for Programs and Strategic Initiatives of the Atlanta Women's Foundation, "I think we let the johns off the hook. Pimps are business persons responding to a demand."

Girls who are at-risk of or who have been victims of commercial sexual exploitation need specialized services. It is not enough to take a program developed for boys and "paint it pink." Girls need safe spaces away from the grasp of their exploiters. They need programs to help them deal with the physical and psychological effects of being sexually exploited. The following are some of the programs created to assist girls at risk and girls who have been exploited.

The Fulton County Child Advocacy Center

The Child Advocacy Center serves children who have been abused. The program is based on the Children's Advocacy Center Model of the National Children's Alliance. It works to reduce the service fragmentation that often further traumatizes the children various agencies are trying to help. Representatives from prosecution and law enforcement units, child protection agencies, mental health and medical services, and victim advocacy organizations work together conducting joint forensic interviews and making team decisions about the investigation, treatment, management, and prosecution of child abuse cases. In 2004, the Center reviewed 863 cases, of which 88% were African American and 84% were girls. The Center is launching CACTIS (Child Abuse Case Tracking Information System), a database to track sexually exploited children and their exploiters. This will provide 14 agencies with a coordinated mechanism for data sharing and information gathering.

The Juvenile Justice Fund

The Juvenile Justice Fund was established to facilitate the development of resources to provide comprehensive services to improve the lives of children and strengthen the families and youth served by the Fulton County Juvenile Court. Angela's House, CEASE, Visitation Centers, Multisystematic Therapy, Red Oak Collaboration, and Special Education Advocacy have all been initiatives under auspices of the Fund.

CEASE

Alesia Adams, the former Victims of Prostitution (VOP) coordinator, created CEASE (Center to End Abuse and Sexual Exploitation). CEASE advocates on behalf of victims of commercial sexual exploitation; makes appropriate recommendations for treatment and other services after reviewing court-ordered psychological evaluations, family assessments and child interviews; and conducts community education and awareness programs. CEASE works with the Atlanta school system to identify girls at risk and offer them alternatives to at-risk behavior. Adams has developed a prevention curriculum for middle school students that promotes

understanding of the dangers of running away; dangerous situations that place girls at risk of abuse and exploitation; gender bias and the media; self-esteem building and personal safety rules. Fulton County public schools currently participate in this program, and Atlanta public schools will begin in the fall.

Angela's House

Most victims of CSE are held in the Metro Regional Youth Detention Center, which often proved to be an unsafe and unresponsive environment, or they were placed in youth facilities that were not prepared to deal with their special needs. In response to this void, the Atlanta Women's Foundation created Angela's House, a therapeutic refuge for girls. Angela's House officially opened in 2001 under the direction of Deborah Richardson, who developed the Juvenile Justice Fund as a vehicle to provide comprehensive services for the victims. Angela's House is a six-bed facility that provides girls ages 13 through17 with protection from predators, physical and psychological assessments, and a long-range plan of care and treatment. Inner Harbour, a private not-for-profit psychiatric treatment facility in Georgia that specializes in programs for children and adolescents, provides the day-to-day operation and therapeutic treatment for girls at Angela's House.

Multisystematic Therapy (MST)

MST is an intensive family-based program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Often when children are repeatedly seen in juvenile court, the root of the problem is at home with weak family infrastructure and poor parental supervision.

In an effort to redirect a juvenile's trajectory away from incarceration or removal from the home, judges can mandate MST for the family. MST works to permanently change family dynamics through intensive in-home counseling; assisting parents in developing parenting skills and strategies to deal effectively with their children; and assisting children in learning to develop positive strategies to deal with problems at home and school without falling into antisocial or high-risk behavior. MST also integrates community support systems, such as schools, churches, relatives and neighbors into the family's support structure. Family support and stability are crucial factors in preventing at-risk girls from being sexually exploited commercially and ensuring that girls who have been victims recover.

Standup for Kids, Atlanta Chapter

Standup for Kids is a national organization whose mission is to help runaway and homeless children. This mission is carried out by volunteers whose on-the-streets outreach efforts find, stabilize, and assist runaway and homeless children in their efforts to improve their lives. Standup for Kids also works to deter children from running away and offers resource programs in schools and via the Internet.

Covenant House

Covenant House provides services to youth, ages 16-21. Every night, the outreach van leaves Broad Street seeking youth who are on the street from the hours of midnight to 8:00 A.M. to provide them with food and a referral to the community resource center for additional assistance. Covenant House provides basic services, such as food, clothing, and assistance in finding shelter. The program also offers case management, crisis counseling and intervention, family reunification, GED and educational tutoring, vocational workshops, life-skills workshops, advocacy and community development, peer leadership groups, and health care assistance. Covenant House plans to open a homeless shelter for youth this fall.

Project Safe Space – DeKalb County

The DeKalb County Taskforce for Runaway, Homeless and Sexually Exploited Youth was created to address the needs of these vulnerable children in DeKalb County. The taskforce is comprised of law enforcement, judicial, and social service agencies as well as community leaders. The taskforce has recently initiated Project Safe Place to assist children on the street and at risk of sexual exploitation by providing them with a "safe place" and a chance to think through their problems with the support of caring adults.

Project Safe Place is a collaborative effort between community youth service agencies, local businesses, schools, volunteers, transit companies, and other community agencies. Participating businesses and community organizations display diamond shaped Safe Place signs in their windows. Children in need can walk into any of these establishments and ask for help. The Safe Place location employee calls the Safe Place agency and makes the child comfortable until a trained volunteer or staff member arrives. The child is then transported to the youth service agency to be assessed for counseling or residential assistance needs. Safe Place makes sure that the child and family receive the help and professional referrals they need. Project Safe Place was started in 1983 in Louisville, Kentucky, and has been replicated in communities all over the country.

The Fulton County Public Schools have approved a sexual exploitation prevention curriculum that is being presented in some schools and needs to be system-wide.

Barriers

Several barriers exist to identifying and assisting girls who are victims of CSE. Girls continue to go unidentified and therefore do not receive assistance. Girls who are identified are usually already part of the juvenile justice system. They are criminalized for delinquent behaviors while the underlying abuse remains undetected. Once in the juvenile justice system, many of these girls cycle in and out often without receiving appropriate services. Self-reporting screening mechanisms fail to capture girls that do not disclose that they are being prostituted.

In addition, there is a lack of systematic reporting and monitoring on the part of many agencies that work with at-risk and CSE girls. There are several reasons for this. Agencies that serve at-risk children often do not make identifying CSE a priority or they lack the mechanisms to accurately record information. Agencies that serve domestic victims of CSE are often constrained financially. CSE is an extremely complex issue that requires long-term interventions. Long-term interventions are not the type of programs that typically receive funding. In addition, many agencies serve a specific niche and do not effectively communicate with each other. CSE requires collaborative effort on the part of the community, law enforcement, and human service agencies. As a result, it is impossible to quantify the number of girls who are being sexually exploited in Atlanta. Evidence outlined in this report points to the fact that CSE remains an underreported crime in the city of Atlanta and that many victims go unnoticed.

Issues of Jurisdiction

One of the major barriers to assisting victims of CSE is jurisdictional. Children from other counties and states often pass through the system with no procedure for following up on the outcome. Unless the counties and state authorities are aware of CSE and have procedures in place, children often slip through the cracks. They are often sent back to the same situations that caused them to run in the first place, back to their exploiters.

Lack of housing and safe spaces for girls

Safe spaces and housing for girls that have been victims of commercial sexual exploitation are lacking. Angela's House is the only safe house east of the Mississippi for such girls. Girls from all over Georgia are being referred to Angela's House, but it only has six beds and the need is much greater. Girls who are not fortunate enough to get placement in Angela's House are sent to facilities that do not specialize in CSE. Girls placed in group homes with peers arrested for other categories of juvenile delinquency are often forced to face the choice of remaining silent about their abuse or being subject to stigmatization by peers and staff when they disclose.

There are kids that want to get away from these guys. They are crying to get away and don't have a place to go. They can't go back home. They won't go back home.

Alesia Adams, Project Director, CEASE

Runaways in the city of Atlanta lack safe places to take refuge. DeKalb County has initiated Project Safe Place, but no such program exists in other parts of Atlanta or Fulton County. Several agencies conduct outreach for runaways, such as Standup for Kids and Covenant House. Currently, there are no runaway shelters in Atlanta. Covenant House anticipates opening a shelter in the fall, but they will serve only 16 to 21 year olds. However, many children under the age of 16 run away from home, and no place for them exists. Children who are housed in adult shelters are exposed to high-risk behaviors, criminal activity, and high levels of mental illness.

Funding

Funding has also been identified as a barrier to care for girls who have been victims of CSE. Although the federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention awarded a \$1.2 million grant because they recognized the extensive problem in the Atlanta area, it can only begin to address the need. Funding for many of the services in place, like Angela's House, are too dependent on private charity when it should be the responsibility of the state to care and protect these children. Many working and middle class families lack the resources to find appropriate care for their daughters who have not been picked up by the juvenile justice system. Children often remain in the same neighborhoods as their exploiters.

These cases are rarely taken to court. I have a young lady who was kidnapped by a neighbor and prostituted. That neighbor and some of the people that exploited her went to jail, but some of them are out now, and they are still roaming her neighborhood. She is still a victim at large. So, are we protecting these girls to the best of our ability? Of course not. We do not have the resources. Resources are needed.

Linda Watson, Probation Officer, DeKalb County Juvenile Court

Aggressive Arrests and Prosecution of Pimps and Johns

It is much easier to arrest prostitutes than pimps or panderers. Law enforcement needs to shift from criminalizing women and girls to focusing on their exploiters. The laws are in place to prosecute pimps and panderers, but more often girls are criminalized and their exploiters remain free. Without the victim's cooperation, it is very difficult to get a conviction. Victims of CSE are often terrified of their pimps and fear retaliation if they testify against them. In addition, children are intimidated by a system that criminalizes them. Finally, girls often do not believe that they are being exploited.

These men are criminals because they are soliciting this behavior from a child. They are molesters. We have to stop looking at these girls like they are willfully behaving this way. This is not a willful act.

Linda Watson, Probation Officer DeKalb County Juvenile Court

Addressing Adult Prostitution

There is a significant spatial association between adult prostitution activities and arrests of juveniles. Until adult prostitution activities are effectively targeted, these clusters and tracks will continue to provide a space for children to be prostituted. There is an absence of programs in Atlanta assisting women exiting prostitution.

Unlike many major cities, Atlanta does not have a First Offenders Prostitution Program (FOPP) or "John school." FOPP offers panderers of adult prostitution services the opportunity to participate in this program rather than be charged and jailed. Men pay a fee and attend a class that covers the penal risks and practical consequences of continued criminal conduct and educates them about HIV and STDs. Prostitution survivors speak about childhood risk factors, violence, drug use, rehabilitation, being pimped, recruitment, and trafficking tactics used against women and girls. FOPPs in other cities have shown lowered recidivism, decreased costs from lowered use of the criminal justice system and health care, improved quality of life in the areas affected by prostitution, and the entry of former prostitutes into mainstream jobs and lifestyles.

Recommendations

Vulnerable girls will remain hidden in plain view unless the community gets involved to address CSE. The following are recommendations for assisting victims of CSE and preventing CSE (a plan of action for implementation of the recommendations and a fiscal impact analysis will be developed separately):

Creation of a community action plan with stakeholder buy-in (law enforcement, judicial services, human service providers, and community leaders) to facilitate better coordination, inter-agency communication, and continuity of care for victims of CSE. All sectors should be held accountable for implementing their area of responsibility and creating benchmarks for change.

Law Enforcement and Justice System

- Review current laws related to CSE and amend if necessary
- Facilitate the prosecution of panderers as child sex abusers and place them on sex offenders lists; prosecute pimps under law creating felony for pimping a minor
- Create a school for johns (e.g. First Offenders Prostitution Program). Research the models used in several other US cities that charge a fee to the john (to cover the expenses of the program and also help underwrite the services to victims)
- Enforce the crime of transportation for purposes of prostitution
- Re-institute policy of seizing vehicles of johns when they are arrested
- Create a social service resource book for APD that provides contact information for all available non-profit organizations that serves this population

- Change out vice unit cars to ensure security of undercover operations
- Deputize officers in Vice Unit to allow them to pursue people who recruit and solicit in Atlanta and then leave city limits
- Strengthen forensic interview process by staffing existing centers after 5:00 pm
- Target web-based recruitment, advertising and solicitation by funding undercover sting operations

Human Services

- Increase partnerships with and funding for agencies that have demonstrated success working with CSE children
- Establish and fund additional safe houses and residential treatment programs, based on the Angela's House model, for CSE children. Develop a true "continuum of care" so that girls can move from assessment to therapeutic care while feeling safe and secure throughout their re-entry
- Establish and fund runaway shelters in the city for all minors regardless of age or residence
- Establish and fund aftercare programs, including support groups for girls and their families
- Develop a standardized protocol that all agencies that work with victims of CSE follow to streamline services
- Support the new computer case tracking system, CACTIS
- Support the collaboration of organizations serving trafficking victims, no matter their age and country of origin, and those serving victims of CSE no matter their race or nationality

Prevention

- Conduct a metro-wide information campaign, targeting men, about the statutory consequences of soliciting sex from a minor and the impact of CSE on children
- Conduct a youth-oriented prevention campaign targeting adolescents and engage the music industry in Atlanta to participate in prevention activities
- Engage the Board of Education, the NPU's and various business organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce, in developing strategies to end the sexual exploitation of minors

Research and Data Collection

• Conduct a 5-year prospective study in the metro-Atlanta area to collect and analyze information about all aspects of the commercial sexual exploitation of children (male, female and transgender) including the trafficking of women and young girls into Atlanta

Resources

Personal Interviews

Alesia Adams, Project Director, Center to End Adolescent Sexual Exploitation (CEASE) Barbara Brown, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Cinzia Coleman, Senior Probation Officer, DeKalb County Juvenile Court
Herman Glass, Lieutenant, Vice Unit, Atlanta Police Department
Yolanda Graham, Medical Director, Inner Harbour and Angela's House
Nina Hickson, Former Chief Juvenile Judge, Fulton County Juvenile Court
Sanford Jones, Chief Juvenile Judge, Fulton County Juvenile Court
Nikki Marr, Former Juvenile Judge, DeKalb County Juvenile Court
Alisa Porter, Director of Funding and Development, Covenant House Georgia
James Sellers, Major, Special Enforcement Section, Atlanta Police Department
Jennifer Towns, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Linda Watson, Probation Officer, DeKalb County Juvenile Court
D.M. Williams, Sergeant, Child Exploitation Unit, Atlanta Police Department
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* "street names"

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- ¹ First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP), San Francisco. In 1995, First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP), established by SAGE in collaboration with the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, the S.F. Police Department, the S.F. Health Department, local merchants, and the mental health community. The primary purpose of the program was to shift the approach to prostitution-related offenses from blaming the victim. The FOPP program provides services to aid girls to permanently exit the criminal justice system and rebuild their lives free of sexual exploitation, prostitution and abuse. For women trying to exit prostitution, FOPP provides early intervention, in-custody and out-of-custody assessments, referrals, peer support, rehabilitation, vocational training, and case management. As part of the program male customers ("Johns") are arrested and required to attend a "John School," an educational program for first offenders that takes a real-world, confrontation-style look at the legal, health, and other risks and effects of prostitution. Administrative fees collected from the "Johns" fund the intervention services for women and girls.

Appendíx A. Case studíes Nícole -

16-year-old African American

Nicole is not very talkative and her speech is difficult to understand. This is partially due to a head trauma she sustained when she was 5 years old. When Nicole was a 6-year-old, she was hit by a car and hospitalized for two weeks. She now suffers from headaches everyday.

Nicole lives with her mother and two younger sisters in East Point. Her family is originally from the Midwest. Prior to moving to Atlanta, Nicole and her sisters lived with their father for three years while her mother worked and went to school. During that time, Nicole said her father was physically abusive to her and that her stepmother "treated her wrong." Nicole did not want to move to Atlanta and wanted to continue living with her father.

Nicole has a very volatile relationship with her family. Nicole feels that her mother is worried about her sisters and says, "She doesn't care about me." Nicole fights a lot with her sisters.

When she was angry, she often threatened to kill "everybody else" in the house. At 13, while fighting with her sisters, Nicole brandished a knife and threatened to kill her sisters. She was detained at Metro Regional Youth Detention Center for several months before being placed in Angela's House, a program that specializes in treating sexually exploited girls between ages 13 and 18. Nicole admitted that when she was in juvenile detention she thought about killing herself. By 13, Nicole had already tried to kill herself three times.

When Nicole was 12, a 17-year-old acquaintance tried to rape her outside her house. He stopped and ran away because her mother came home. Nicole's mother has had several physically abusive boyfriends. Nicole has modeled her mother's behavior.

Her mother views her as competition and is back and forth about whether she wants Nicole or whether she is willing to do anything to help her daughter. Nicole admits that she feels afraid of men but has been sexually active since she was 13. Nicole feels that she was pushed into have sex but does not see anything wrong with having several older (adult) boyfriends.

Nicole likes school but has had a hard time in school since elementary school and is in Special Education. She has been suspended numerous times for skipping class, being disruptive and fighting. Nicole doesn't have a best friend and doesn't want one because some of her friends have betrayed her.

Nicole admits that she feels sad all the time. "I'm not sure if things will work out for me. I do everything wrong. I can never be as good as other kids. Nobody really loves me." She has a history of running away.

Nicole is doing better at Angela's House but she suffers from post-traumatic stress disorder. Nicole's mother reported that since Nicole was a little girl, she has had a compulsion to steal and hide food. She is withdrawn and prone to outbursts of anger and aggression. Nicole has very low self-esteem, saying that she is ugly.

Moníka -

17-year-old African American

Monika has been living with her aunt and cousin since she was three. Her aunt says that she does not follow any rules at home and is very disrespectful to most adults and authority figures. She has several siblings but Monika doesn't know her brothers or sisters or where they are because Mom was a crack addict who abandoned her children.

Monika was born addicted to crack cocaine. In 1995, Monika's mother was murdered by a drug dealer. Monika took it very hard. She thinks about her mother often and feels that her life would have been different if her mother was still alive. She has no contact with her father. Monika says "He's either on drugs or dead too."

Monika has had a difficult time in school. She had repeated 7th grade because of her excessive truancy and aggressive behavior. Monika has also been suspended for being verbally and physically aggressive "more than fifteen [times], I lost count."

Monika spends most of her free time smoking marijuana, which she began smoking regularly when she was 13 years old. She has a few female friends but most of her friends are adult males.

Monika had her first sexual encounter when she was 13 years old. She estimates that she has slept with over 60 people since then, most of them adults. Monika has contracted an STD twice. She regrets not protecting herself but continues to have sex because she enjoys it.

Monika denies that she has been prostituted but the red flags are undeniable. She has been referred to CEASE and went to Angela's House this year.

Monika was prematurely sexualized and exhibits precocious and compulsive sexual behavior. She has been diagnosed with oppositional defiant disorder and she suffers from depression. "People think I have an attitude problem. I don't take no stuff off anyone, adult or not." Monika feels that people do not understand her or understand "what she has been through." She often feels mad with the world for no apparent reason and feels unsupported by her aunt.

Monika had a baby this year and is returning to court this month for an Unruly petition.

Deandra -

16-year-old African American

Deandra usually feels "kind of nervous, scared and worried". She claims she has felt that way "for a long time" because she has been "trying to do things I don't want to do, be in a[n] in-crowd so people like me." She believes that everyone [in her family] would be better off if she was "dead, it's easier for my mom not [to] have to worry about me."

Deandra is the oldest of five children. Deandra's mother was 14 years old when she was born.

Deandra was placed in foster care for a year when she was a toddler because her mother neglected her. Her father lives out of state and does not play an active role in her life. Deandra is very unhappy about her estrangement with her father.

Deandra's mother works as a waitress. According to Deandra, "she works all the time and is tired when she comes home." She misses the time they used to spend together playing games. "The best time in my life was when I went to the mall with my Mama, but we don't do much things like that now."

Deandra has had a difficult time in school and remains unhappy about her lack of friends. "Kids talk about me and call me names all the time. I don't know why but it hurts my feelings."

She attended four middle schools, "cause we kind of didn't have a home, so we was living with people." In 6th grade, Deandra was expelled from school. "These older [sic] girls kept pushing me in the mud and talking about me, tried to jump me. So I took out a knife to school but I gave it up." "I get suspended all the time for trying to be somebody I ain't, be in the crowd, have friends that ain't really my friends, just talk about me. I got no real friends."

This school year, Deandra began skipping school and leaving school. She was charged with simple battery for assaulting another girl and was transferred to CEP.

The first time Deandra ran away was after she and her mother had a fight. "Every time I get in trouble, I feel like my Mama loves me more then." This reinforced Deandra's pattern of running away. Deandra ran off with "this boy" when she was 13 years old, because she "thought he was in love with me. Plenty of times I left with him, lost my virginity because the other kids were doing it."

Since then Deandra claims that she has had four sexual partners. Several of Deandra's friends were strippers and Deandra admitted to stripping but denied she was prostituted, but her last boyfriend was a known pimp. He was grooming her to begin turning her out. Luckily, Deandra was detained at Metro Regional Youth Detention Center for running away before he had the chance.

After being detained at Metro, Deandra was referred to Weed and Seed and the Baby Think it Over Program. She failed to attend either of these. Deandra was then referred to CEASE and is currently at Angela's House.

Melissa -

20-year-old Caucasían

When Melissa was 5 years old, her older male cousins (ages 7 and 9) began fondling her. They told her, "I saw my mom and dad do this" and would then do it to her. She did not know it was wrong at the time but she knew she did not like being touched that way. At 11 years old, Melissa began having intercourse with her cousin, then 14 years old, and a group of his friends, who ranged in age from 14 to 17.

Melissa saw her first pornographic magazine when she was 7 years old at her father's house. She watched her first pornographic movie when she was 13 years old, at a drug dealer's house. She and her friends would rent X-rated movies and take them back to her mother's house to watch.

Melissa's parents divorced when she was an infant. She lived with her mother in Alabama. They were very close until her mother remarried when Melissa was 12 years old. Melissa and her new stepfather fought all the time and she finally was sent to live with her father. Melissa's father was also remarried and lived in Georgia near Macon. Melissa had problems living with her father and even had a physical altercation with her stepmother.

Melissa had a lot of trouble in school, feeling out of place and not getting along with the other students. She got in several fights. Melissa finally refused to go to school and she was sent to boot camp twice. She believes that she is bisexual. Her first sexual contact with a female was while in boot camp.

Melissa was detained again in 1999 and returned to her mother's house. Her mother had remarried (and divorced) and moved to Atlanta. Although she has no visible income, Melissa's mother lived in a very expensive house and drove a brand new car.

Melissa ran away again and she was detained in Metro in August of 2000. At Metro, Melissa was very open about "slinging dope" while living in the "projects," smoking marijuana and cocaine, drinking, and prostituting for the three months that she ran away. She had gonorrhea, which was treated while she was in Metro.

She reported having approximately 200 sexual partners by the age of 15. Melissa is adamant that sex has always been consensual. Melissa began having sex for money about three months after she ran way from home because it was the easiest way to make money. The oldest man she slept with was in his mid-50s.

Melissa denied having a pimp, claiming that she worked with a group of friends, but pimps have tattoos put on their girls as a form of branding to let other pimps know to whom they belong.

Melissa denied having sex with people for drugs but reported having sex with people who supplied her with drugs. She started doing drugs in 7th grade.

Melissa was diagnosed bipolar with borderline personality disorder and Zoloft was prescribed. She was also severely depressed and engaged in self-mutilating behavior. Even though she denied it, Melissa has been severely traumatized by childhood sexual abuse.

Melissa was released to The Bridge, residential treatment center offering services to sexually- and physically-abused teenagers and their families, in December 2000. She ran away after a month.

Melissa was arrested in DeKalb County in January 2001. She gave a false name and birth date. Melissa was arrested as an adult. She was bonded out and re-detained in Metro. She was eventually sent to Inner Harbor, from which she ran away. Melissa was 17 years old when she was convicted of armed robbery and kidnapping.

Nadine -

16-year-old African American

Nadine is the eldest of three children. Her younger sisters live with their father in Alabama. Nadine does not know her father and feels very resentful toward her mother about this. "I don't think its fair she didn't stay around for me to know him. My sisters know they daddy – she stayed around long enough for them." She says her mother told her bad things about her father but she does not believe them.

When Nadine was 10, she and her sisters moved with their mother to Atlanta. A year later, Nadine and one of her sisters were molested by an older cousin. He moved out of state and he was never prosecuted. Nadine and her sister received counseling for several months after that, but within a year, Nadine was molested again by a male friend of her mother. This time she was raped.

Nadine began acting out sexually. She brought men in the house when her mother was at work. Neighbors reported seeing her welcoming men at the door in her mother's negligee. Nadine claims that she only did this once.

Later that same year, she was molested by another of her mother's male friends who was staying with the children while Nadine's mother was at work, so that Nadine's mother would "not have to worry about Nadine bringing men in the house."

Nadine's mother reports that Nadine has had three abortions. Nadine refuses to use birth control because she "wants to have a baby and get married." Nadine feels that her mother has been more involved with the men in her life than her children and as a result, she has to get attention from people in the streets.

Fearing for the wellbeing of his daughters, the father of Nadine's sister has taken them back to Alabama and has refused to let Nadine see them.

Nadine openly admits to engaging in prostitution but denies being pimped, even though her boyfriend is "pimping some young girls." She claims she would "only count his money." Nadine admits to traveling to Miami last year to dance in a strip club but says it was her idea. She hopes to marry her boyfriend as soon as she turns 16.

Nadine has been removed by the Department of Child and Family Services (DFCS) several times for parent-child conflicts. During one of those conflicts, Nadine started a fire in the house and slashed her mother's tire.

When Nadine was 15 years old, Fulton County DFCS removed Nadine from her mother's house and placed her in a foster home, but Nadine ran away and later, she was found in a motel with a man who worked for the home. DFCS turned the child back over to her mother, saying, "DFCS can't do anything for her, either." Nadine was sent to Angela's House this year, where she is doing very well. Nadine is very angry with her mother and feels that her behavior was her mother's fault. Her mother has made no effort to contact her daughter.

Rochelle -

17-year-old African American

Rochelle was 12 years old when she began running away because "something was wrong at home." Her mother was locking her in the house without food for long periods. Initially she stayed with a neighbor but eventually began running away. Rochelle admits to running away over twenty-five times.

Rochelle says her relationship with her mother was all right until one of her mother's boyfriends molested her. Even after Rochelle disclosed the abuse to her mother, she failed to protect her daughter. Instead, Rochelle's mother demeaned her and called her names. She even went so far as to lock her daughter out of the house.

Rochelle has very little contact with her father. In 7th grade, she was kicked out of school for fighting and has been struggling to catch up ever since. She finds school very frustrating because she "could not do the work."

During the times that she was on the run, Rochelle admits that she would support herself by meeting men at Five Points who "would let her stay with them." She became involved with a pimp when she was 15 years old. Rochelle claimed "he was really sweet at first," and then he began "telling me, you can't stay in this house for free." She feels that "he took care of me and gave me somewhere to stay." To date, no charges have been filed against this man. In 2003, Rochelle was sent to Angela's House but she ran away and she was sent to Metro RYDC.

Rochelle would do anything to get attention from her mother. She has been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and reactive attachment disorder. Rochelle has problems sleeping and suffers from anxiety. She is also suffering from a learning disorder, in part due to all the schooling she has missed. Rochelle has a lot of buried rage and states that she is determined not to let anyone take advantage of her again. She feels scared of men and finds her life is "confusing to her."

Rochelle is currently in the custody of the Georgia Department of Juvenile Justice and living in a group home.

Diane -

21-year-old Caucasían

Diane was born the product of a broken family. Her teenage parents separated just after she was born. Diane's mother had custody of the child but neglected her. She was often left for long periods in the care of her mother's boyfriend before being abandoned altogether by her mother. Diane's mother reportedly worked in the adult entertainment industry and was "on the run" for missing court. Diane's father, a recovering drug addict, lived with his parents just off Metropolitan Parkway. He assumed custody of Diane and her younger sister.

When Diane was 13 years old, she was raped at school by a stranger. Her rapist was arrested and sent to prison. She received counseling at the Georgia Center for Children and went to live with her aunt in Coweta County. Diane was sent back to Atlanta because the aunt said that she was a "habitual liar." Diane was returned to the school that she was attending at the time of the rape, but her family claimed the boys were always after her.

She was transferred to another school, where she was raped again on school property. This time, her rapist violated her with a piece of broken glass. Diane was hospitalized for two weeks. She ran away for several months after that and lived with a boyfriend and other friends until she was finally caught and detained at Metro. Due to the amount of school she missed, she finally dropped out when she was 14 years old.

By the time Diane was re-detained at Metro in 1999 for providing false identification to an officer, she was being exploited by a pimp. It was during her detention at Metro that her grandmother disclosed in a letter that Diane's father had been repeatedly molesting her. Diane had been sold to her pimp by her father.

She claimed that that she "fell" for pimps because she was very lonely and felt that they cared about her. Diane worked as an escort and she was sent out to walk the streets. Diane's pimp branded her with a tattoo that would let other pimps know that she was his property. Diane's pimp had several Lincoln Towncars, a BMW and a very expensive house in a very nice part of Atlanta. In addition to pimping, he also sold drugs – in particular – crack.

By this point, Diane was addicted to crack and used it daily. Diane was ordered into a treatment facility for her crack addiction. She was diagnosed with cervical cancer and several sexually transmitted diseases. She was also pregnant by her pimp but lost the baby. Diane suffered from chronic post-traumatic stress disorder. She had reoccurring flashbacks of her assaults. Diane tried to commit suicide several times.

When she was released from drug treatment, Diane ran away again. Her pimp came, searched the family's house looking for Diane, and threatened Diane's sister, saying that Diane had better get in touch with them or he would kill her father and grandfather.

Diane's father has never been arrested or charged for sexually abusing his daughter. Diane's pimp has never been charged with prostituting a minor. Diane is believed to be dead.

Adora -

17-year-old African American

Adora lived with her parents and her brother in southwest Atlanta. She is the youngest of two children. After her father died, Adora moved in with her cousin in DeKalb but returned to her mother's house because she had "more independence." What this really meant was that she had very little supervision because Adora's mother was a drug addict. She claims she started running away when she was 12 years old because she was "trying to be grown" and was "tired of following the rules."

In 2003, Adora was charged with prostitution, after she and a 44 year old "friend" propositioned an undercover officer on Fulton Industrial Boulevard. She denied engaging in prostitution, claiming that her friend was a "whore," but that she was not "whoring." Adora's friend had a broken crack pipe in her pocket at the time of the arrest. Adora claimed she did not use drugs but tested positive for marijuana use.

Adora was detained at Metro Youth Detention Center and placed in the Department of Families and Children Services' custody when authorities were unable to contact her mother. She was placed in a group home. Adora was extremely upset because her mother would not visit her. She was sent back to Metro after she was seen getting into a car with a strange man. This man was her pimp and he beat her very badly. She was placed back in Metro because she feared for her life.

She was placed in another group home that she also ran away from, because she said they were treating her badly. Finally, she was sent to Angela's House where she has been doing well. It was not until she got to Angela's House that she admitted she has engaged in prostitution. This was very painful for her to admit. She wept when she made her admission.

It is believed that she may have been engaging in prostitution to support her family. Adora is extremely attached to her mother and has been burdened with the parent role due to her mother's drug addiction. Adora receives an SSI check because of her father's death. While in custody, Adora begged authorities to allow her mother to continue to receive that check because she was unemployed and Adora was concerned for her welfare.

Adora prays and attends church when possible. She suffers from depression and is extremely preoccupied with her families' wellbeing. Adora also suffers from nightmares and says she feels "really sick all the time."

Carla -

19-year-old African American

Carla was born at Grady Hospital. She had lived with her mother until she was three, but her mother was a drug addict and would leave the child and her younger sister in the care of their brother for days. She finally abandoned her children. Her mother eventually received drug rehabilitation but suffers from depression and is mentally unstable.

Carla went to live with her father and stepmother. Carla described herself as a "daddy's girl" but admitted that the family dynamics were strained. Her father worked two jobs and her stepmother was the primary care giver to Carla and her two stepsiblings. Carla's stepmother was very strict and Carla felt victimized and powerless at home. When she was 11 years old, Carla was badly burned in a cooking accident and had to be hospitalized for three months. She suffered some disfigurement. Carla received counseling after the accident but her father claims that this is when she began to act out.

Carla began sneaking out of house when she was 13 years old, with an older cousin. As a result, she was chronically absent from school and failing almost all her classes in 8th grade. According to her father, Carla began stealing. She claims that she became sexually active at the age of 13 and that she was pressured by a 17 year old boy.

The second time Carla ran away, she was recruited by a pimp and she began engaging in prostitution. Most of the men that slept with her were in their twenties.

Her father filed a runaway complaint against her in Fulton Juvenile Court. Carla was detained in adult detention for three weeks after being arrested for prostitution. She was referred to the Fulton County Court Appointed Special Advocates (CASA) Victims of Prostitution program. Carla was court ordered to cooperate with law enforcement in their investigation of prostitution rings with which Carla was involved.

Carla was moved to Metro Regional Youth Detention Facility. By this point, she was seven months pregnant and diagnosed with several STDs. Not only was Carla pregnant by her pimp, he also infected her with HIV.

Carla remained in DFCS custody but because she was pregnant, Carla was fitted with an electronic monitor and sent back to her father's house. Determined to keep her child, Carla began going to school, taking care of her health and following the rules. She gave birth to a baby girl. Carla was 14 years old.

Her father refused to take custody of Carla's baby, so she was placed in DFCS custody and sent to a foster home. Carla was sent to a treatment facility for medically fragile youth, from which she quickly ran away. She was on the run for four months.

Carla was locked up in Metro almost five months. Metro and DFCS failed this child on several levels. First, she met with a mental health counselor about why her baby was not brought to Metro to see her. The counselor called DFCS multiple times regarding the situation but the calls were never returned. Three months later, the baby was finally brought to Metro to visit Carla.

Second, Carla did not receive any medical treatment for her condition while at Metro. Nor was Carla given any specialized mental health counseling for her HIV infection, even though she was put on suicide watch several times because of her bouts with depression. Finally, Metro held up paperwork for several months that would have allowed Carla to be placed in appropriate facilities.

Carla's father separated from his wife in 2001 and moved in with his mother. Carla's grandmother agreed to take in Carla and her daughter. Carla was released to her grandmother and father.

She began 9th grade. Her goals were to graduate from high school, prove everyone wrong and become a nurse or lawyer. Carla joined ROTC and quickly earned the role of unit leader. She made friends and did well in all of her classes. Carla also got an after school job to buy things for her daughter. She was granted visitation with her daughter, who was still in foster care. Her father has played a very active role in his daughter's and granddaughter's lives.

Sharlene -

18-year-old African American

Sharlene has two younger siblings, and her father is dead. In 2000, her grandmother was given custody of the children. Sharlene was an A student in elementary school, but she rarely attended middle school and was expelled from high school.

When Sharlene was 13, she was caught shoplifting a pair of sneakers. At 14 years of age, she stole her mother's car. A few months later, she was hospitalized after using cocaine.

Sharlene was extremely promiscuous, staying out on the street all night. At one point, her mother took her for a pregnancy test but did not follow-up. At 15, she was charged with pimping one of her schoolmates (a 13-year-old African American).

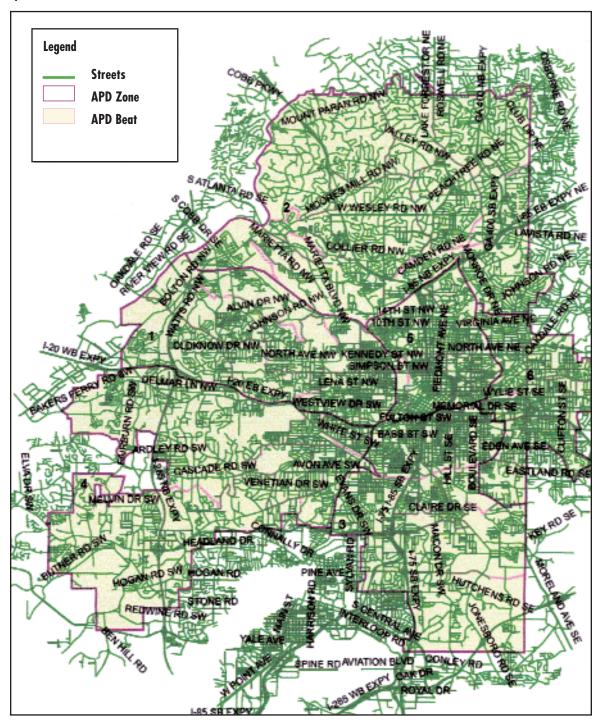
Sharlene had been pimping Licia from a parking lot on Metropolitan Parkway for about four months. She would transact with men who pulled up and then advise Licia to get in the car with them. Other times, Sharlene would drive Licia to a hotel to perform sexual acts with men. Licia would turn over the money she received to Sharlene.

Sharlene went before Judge Sanford Jones, Fulton Juvenile Court. Sharlene was found guilty of pimping. She was placed on probation and referred to CEASE, but Sharlene violated probation by running away. Her whereabouts were unknown until after her 17th birthday when she aged out of the juvenile system. Sharlene was expelled from school and to date has not completed her GED.

Appendix B:

Zone and Street Descriptions

Map of Zones, Beats and Streets



Street Descriptions

Zone 1

Zone 1 is located in the northwest quadrant of Atlanta and covers 26 square miles. There are 24 Atlanta Public Schools with 15,187 students. Zone 1 is also the home of the Atlanta University Center, Clark Atlanta University, Morehouse College, Spelman College, Morris Brown College and the Interdenominational Theological Center.

Zone 1 begins at West Marietta Street at the Western and Atlantic Railroad. It follows the Western and Atlantic Railroad in a Southeasterly direction to North Avenue, then West to Gray Street, South on Gray Street to Western Avenue, then West on Western Avenue to Northside Drive, South on Northside Drive to McDaniel Street then Southeast on McDaniel Street to the Central of Georgia Railroad then Southwest to I-20 the West on I-20 to the City Limits, following the City Limits going North to the Southern Railroad to the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to West Marietta Street.

Zone 2

Zone Two is the largest of the six police zones covering almost 44 square miles and fifty-seven distinct neighborhoods. Zone 2 begins at the City Limits at the Southern Railroad (at the Chattahoochee River). It follows the City Limits to Amsterdam Avenue then West on Amsterdam Avenue to Monroe Drive, North on Monroe Drive to Dutch Valley Road West on Dutch Valley Road to the NPU Line then to the Southern Railroad. Then North to where the Southern Railroad turns Southwest. Then Southwest on Southern Railroad to the Seaboard Coastline Railroad, then Northwest to the Southern Railroad to the City Limits.

Zone 3

Zone 3 has four major sporting and entertainment venues: Turner Field, HiFi Buys Amphitheatre, the Atlanta Zoo and Cyclorama. Zone 3 hosts numerous large city parks and recreational areas including South Bend Park, Perkerson Park, Adair Park, Grant Park and the Southside Recreational Center. Ten high-density Atlanta Housing Authority complexes are nestled in various neighborhoods throughout Zone 3. Atlanta Metropolitan College and Atlanta Area Technical College, as well as twenty-two public schools are located in Zone 3.

Zone 3 begins at the Central of Georgia Railroad at McDaniel Street, South on McDaniel Street to I-20. On I-20 eastbound to I-75/85, then north on I-75/85 to the Central of Georgia Railroad. It follows east on the Central of Georgia Railroad to Boulevard. South on Boulevard to Memorial Drive, then east on Memorial Drive to Pearl Street, South on Pearl Street to Old Flat Shoals Road, then Southwest to I-20, then east on I-20 to the Atlanta and West Point Railroad. South along the Atlanta and West Point Railroad to Boulevard then South on Boulevard to McDonough Boulevard, East on McDonough Boulevard to the NPU line to the City Limit at Moreland Avenue then South. Zone 3 follows the City Limits to Mount Zion Road, west on Mount Zion Road to the City Limits. Then it follows the City Limits to the Central of Georgia Railroad and then North to McDaniel Street.

Zone 4

Zone 4 begins at I.20 at the Central of Georgia Railroad going South to the City Limits, then follows the City Limits West, then North to I.20. Zone 4 then follows I-20 East to the Central of Georgia Railroad.

Zone 5

Zone Five encompasses Downtown, Midtown, Underground, Ansley Park and historic Auburn Avenue as well as Georgia Tech and Georgia State University. The majority of the convention and hospitality industry is based here along with Philips Arena and The Georgia Dome / Georgia World Congress Center.

Zone 5 begins at I-20 and McDaniel Street, North on McDaniel Street to Northside Drive, North on Northside Drive to Western Avenue then East on Western Avenue to Gray Street, North on Gray Street to North Avenue then East to the Atlantic and Western Railroad, North to the Southern Railroad then Northeast following the Southern Railroad to where the Southern Railroad turns South (North of Ansley Park Golf Club). South following the Southern Railroad to the Central of Georgia Railroad, West to I-75/85 then South on I-75/85 to I-20, then West to McDaniel Street.

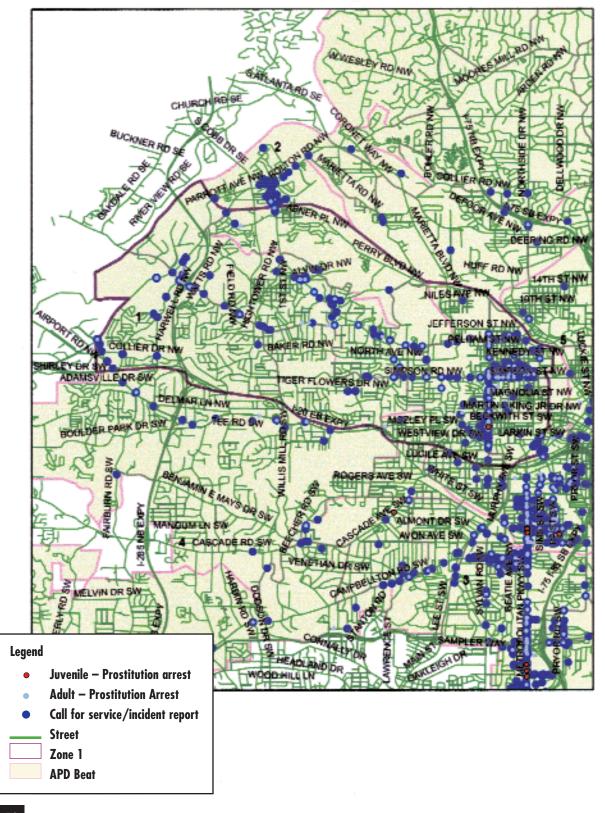
Zone 6

Zone Six is uniquely located in both Fulton and Dekalb Counties. Beginning at Moreland Avenue and the NPU Line (just North of the Moreland Avenue and McDonough Boulevard Intersection), the Zone 6 border turns west following the NPU Line to McDonough Boulevard West on McDonough Boulevard to Boulevard. North on Boulevard to the West Point Railroad, North following the West Point Railroad to I-20. West on I-20 to Old Flat Shoals Road, Northeast to Pearl Streets, North on Pearl Street to Memorial Drive, West on Memorial Drive to Boulevard. North on Boulevard to the Central of Georgia Railroad. East to the Southern Railroad to the NPU Line to Dutch Valley Road. East on Dutch Valley Road to Monroe Drive. Then South on Monroe Drive to Amsterdam Avenue, East on Amsterdam Avenue to the City Limits. Then following the City Limits to the NPU line and Moreland Avenue.

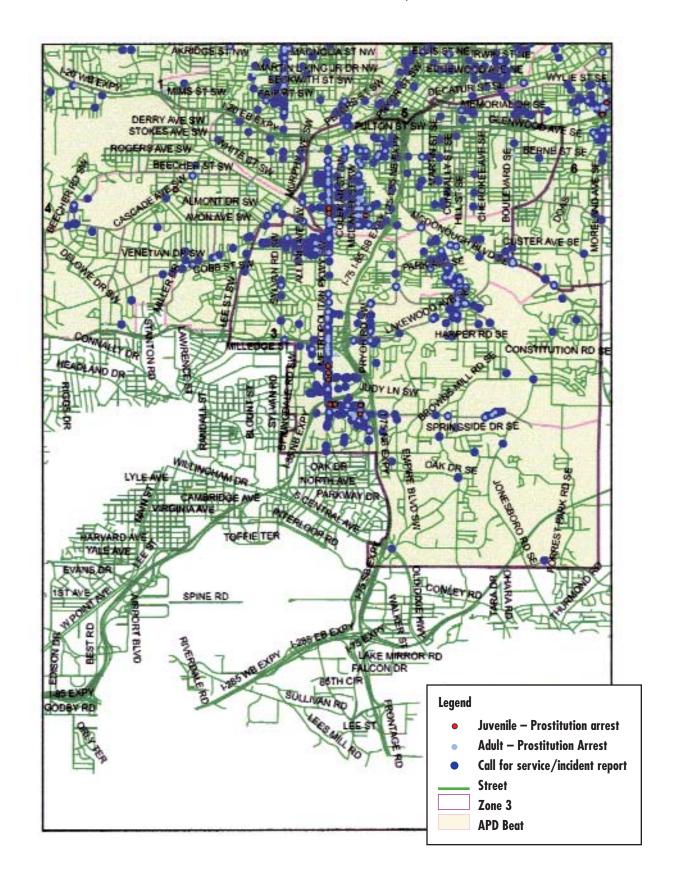
Appendix C

Zone Maps for Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests

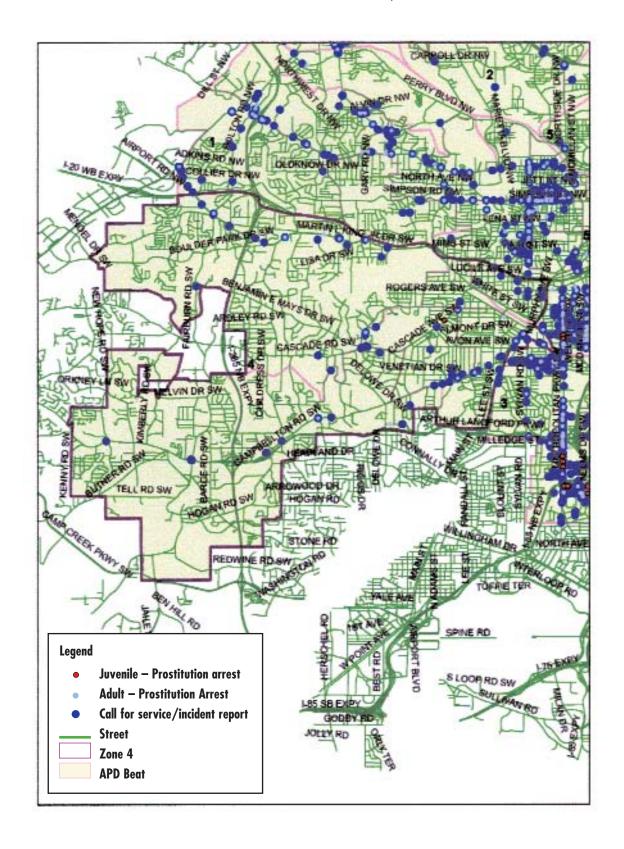
Zone 1 - Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2003



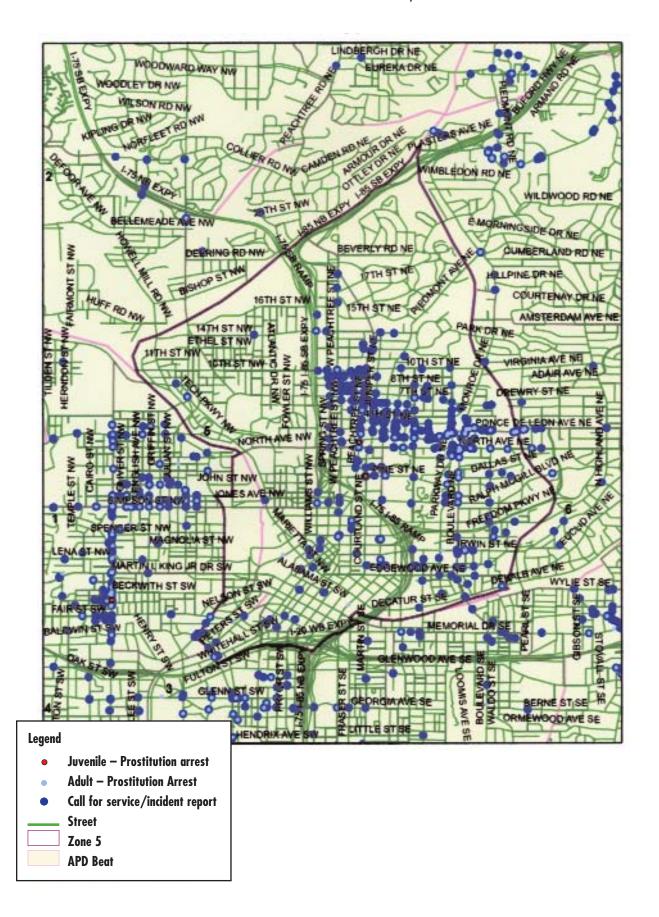
Zone 3 – Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2003



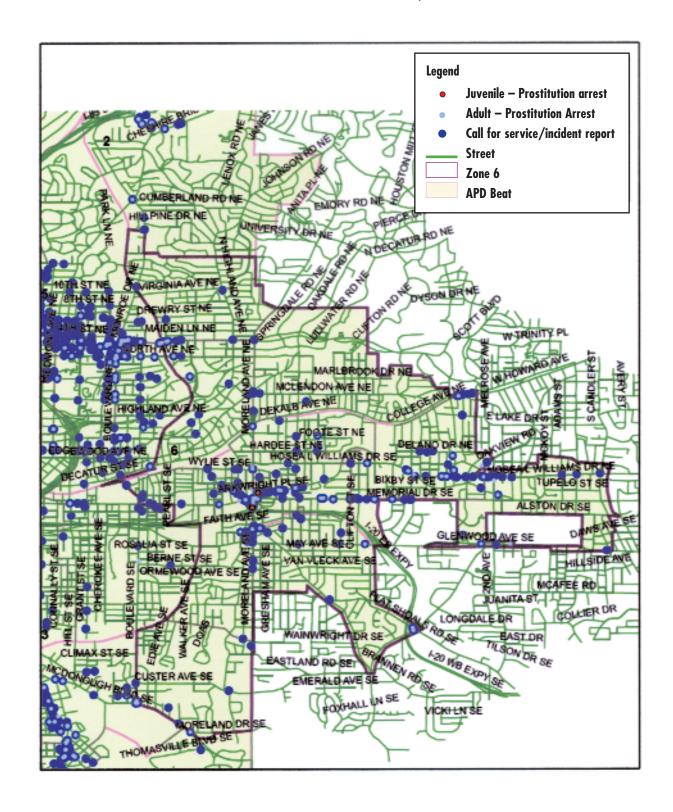
Zone 4 - Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2003



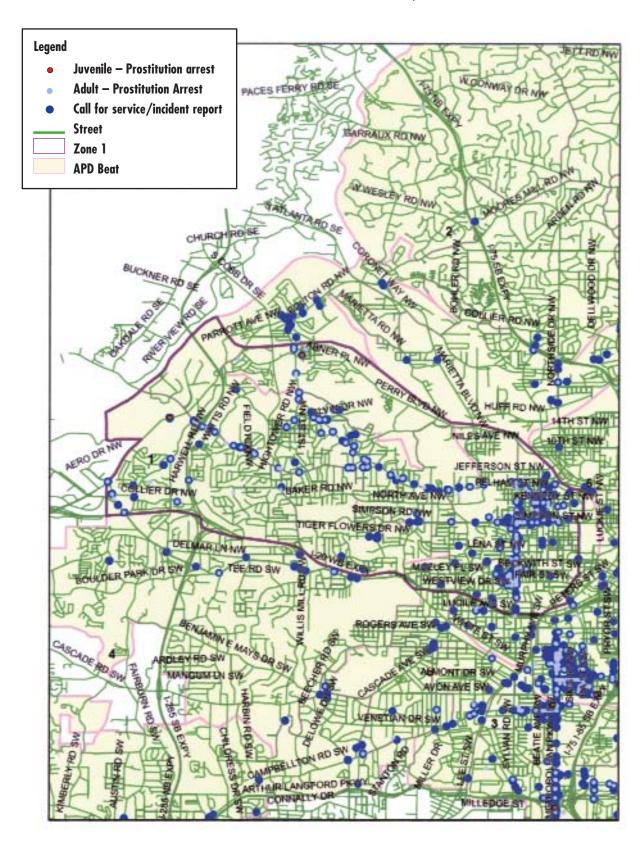
Zone 5 – Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2003



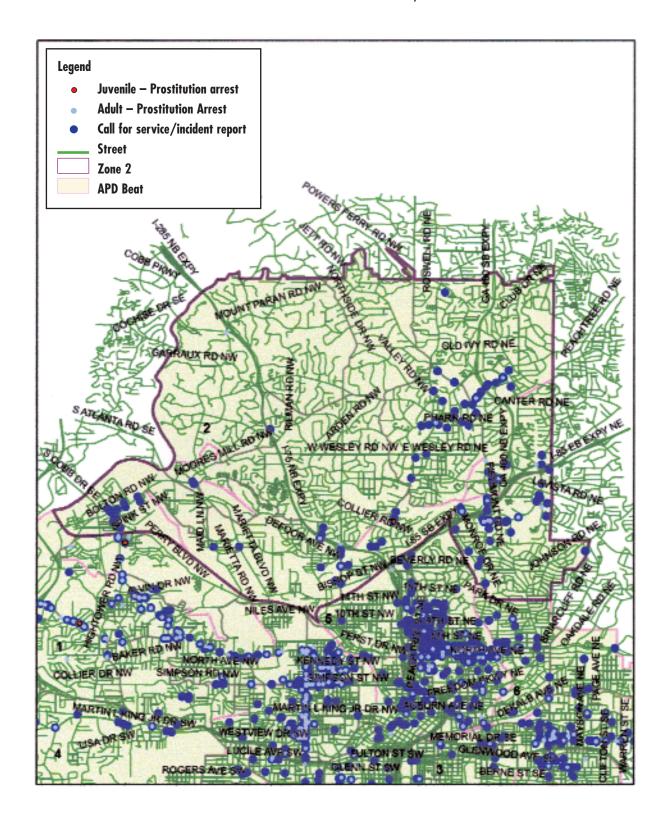
Zone 6 - Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2003



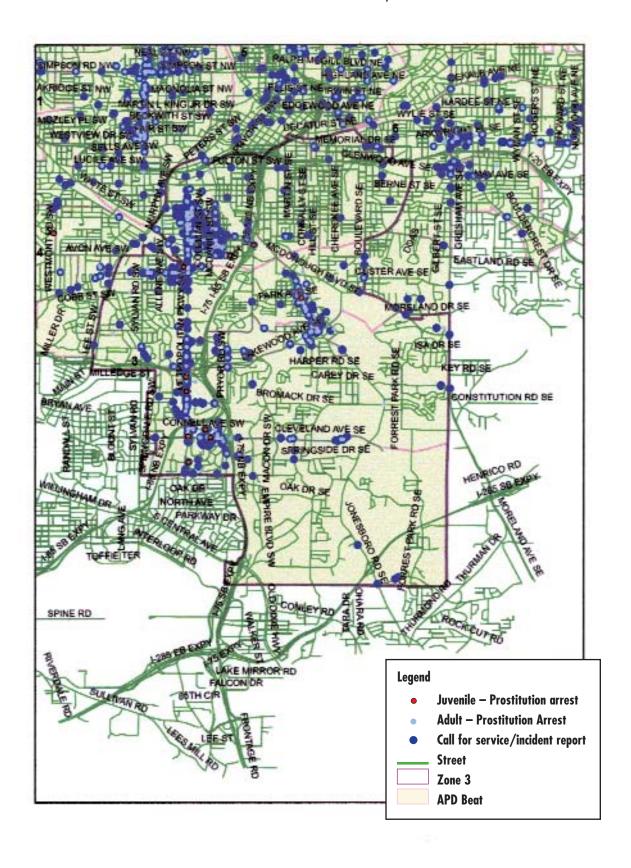
Zone 1 - Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2004



Zone 2 - Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2004



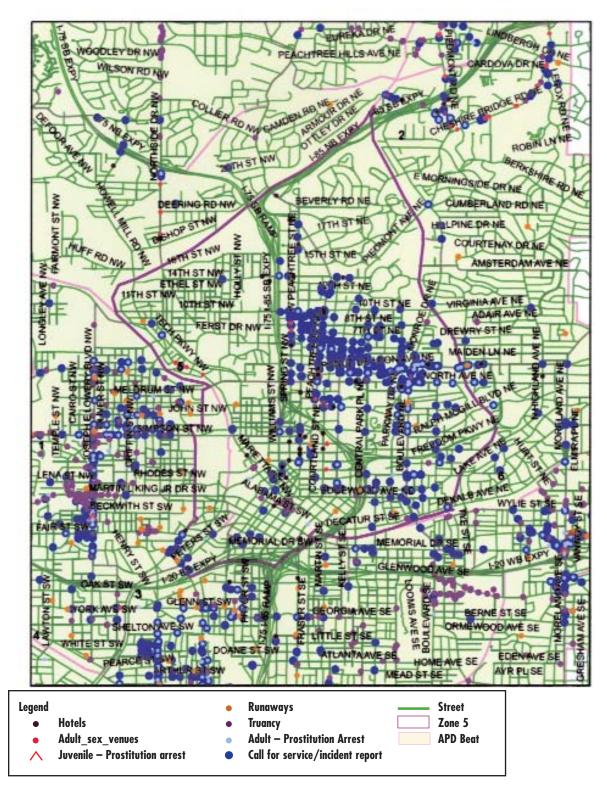
Zone 3 - Prostitution Calls for Service and Arrests, 2004



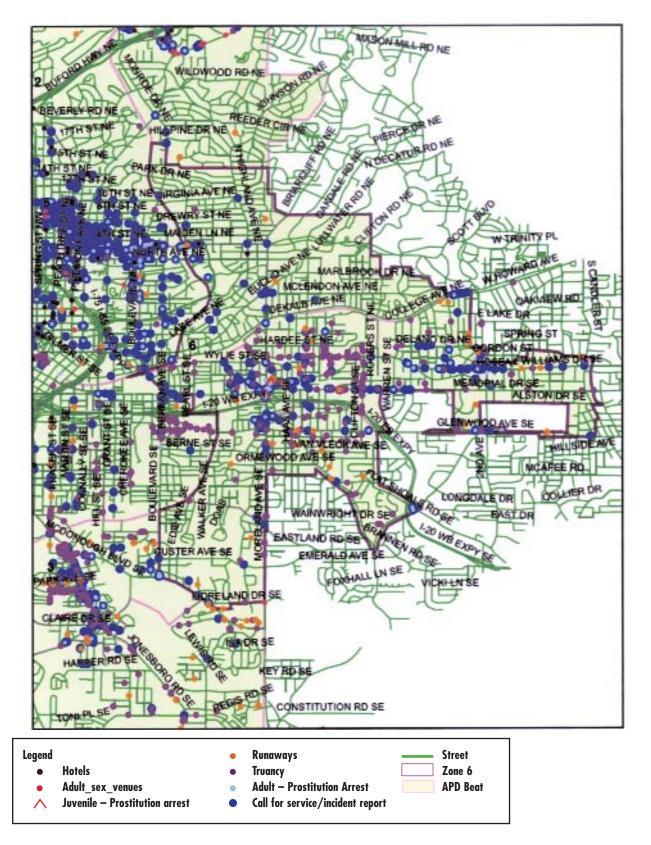
Appendix D

Zone Maps for Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Adult Sex Venues and Hotels

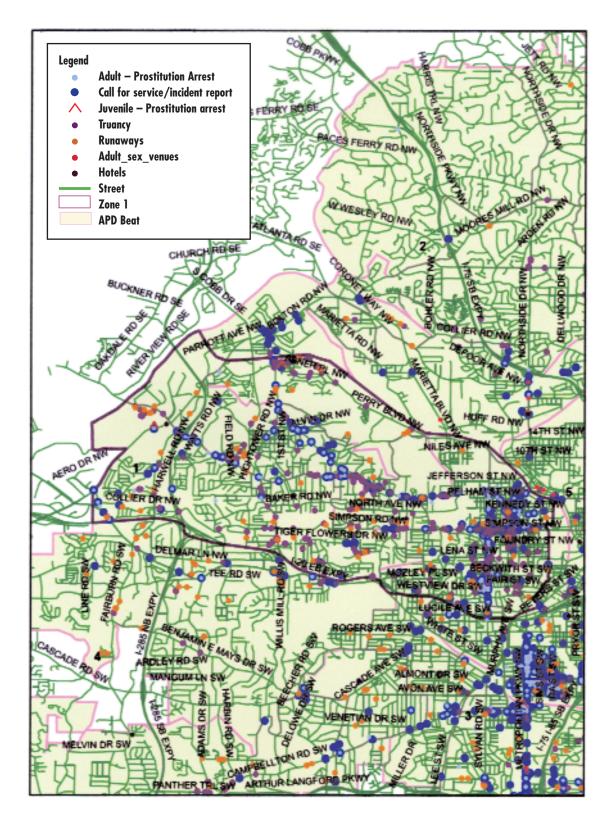
Zone 5 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2003



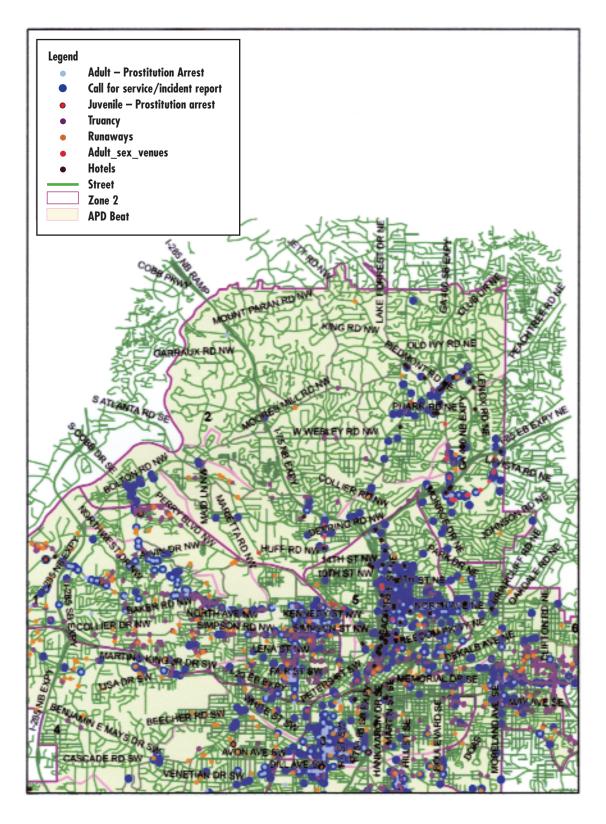
Zone 6 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2003



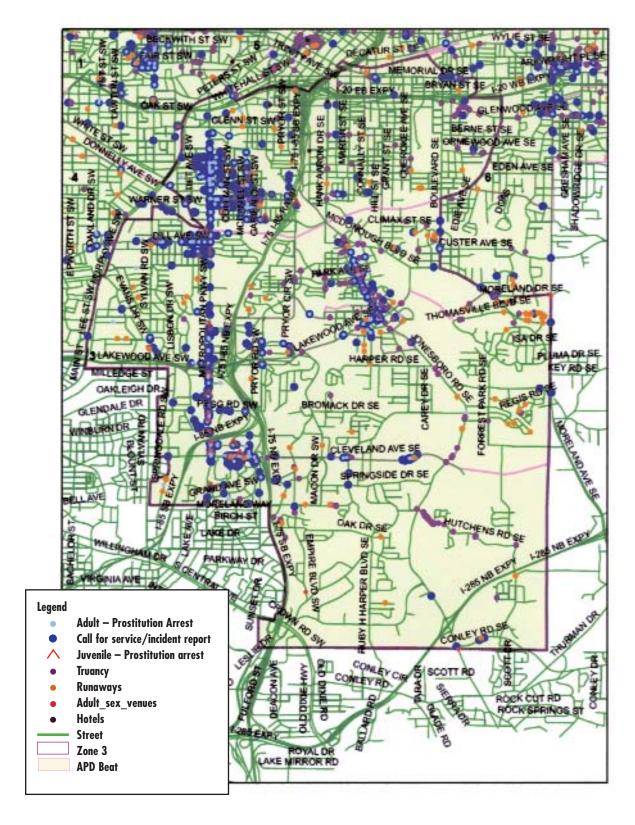
Zone 1 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2004



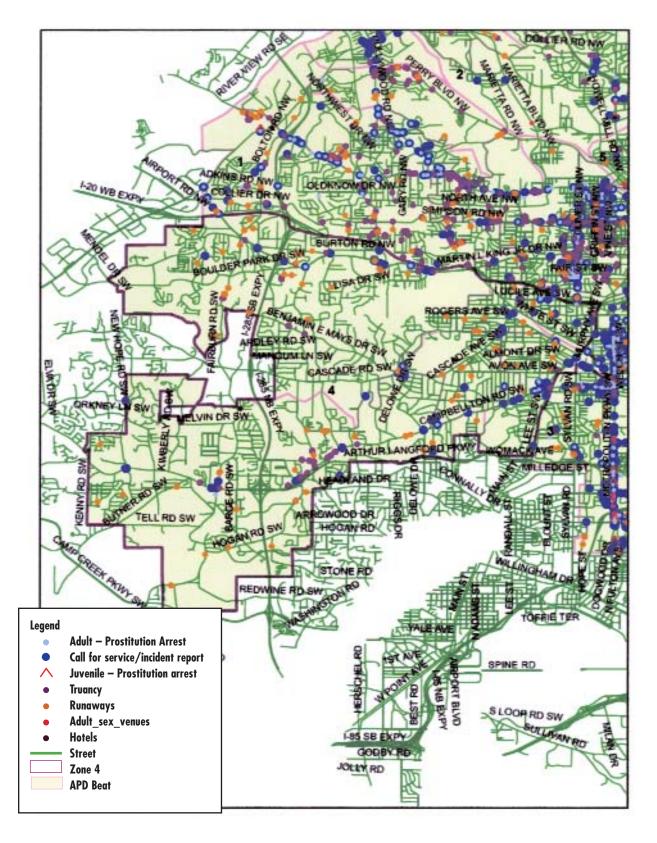
Zone 2 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2004



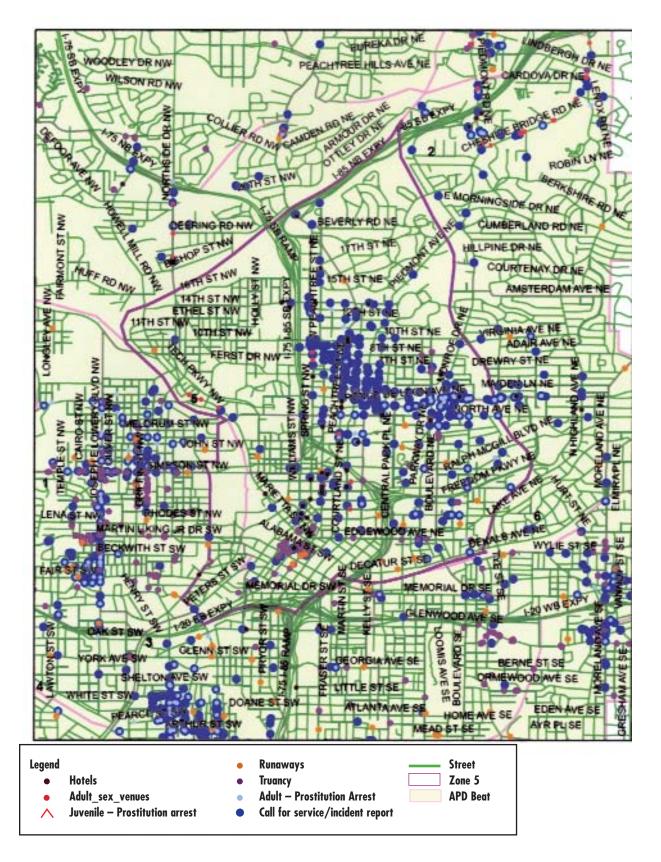
Zone 3 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2004



Zone 4 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2004



Zone 5 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2004



Zone 6 – Juvenile Arrests, Adult Prostitution Activities, Sex Venues and Hotels, 2004

